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the American Revolution

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Eyewitness Accounts of the American Revolution

The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War

C. Stedman

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION

OF THE

AMERICAN WAR.

By C. STEDMAN,

WHO SERVED UNDER SIR W. HOWE, SIR H. CLINTON, AND
THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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OF THE

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Effects of the ſurrender of Saratoga.

THE ſurrender of Saratoga forms a memorable æra in the hiſtory of the American war. Although the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms had not been ſo brilliant, nor the progreſs made in repreſſing the ſpirit of revolt ſo conſiderable, as either the magnitude of the force employed under ſir William Howe, or the military character of that general, gave reaſon to expect; ſtill, upon the whole, until the unfortunate expedition from Canada, the advantages that had been gained were on the ſide of Great Britain.

Whenever the Britiſh and American armies had been oppoſed to each other in the field, the ſuperiority of the former was conſpicuous in every thing, and, in general, even in numbers. The Americans themſelves, impreſſed with an opinion of their own inferiority, were diſpirited; and it was with reluctance that they ever attempted to engage the Britiſh troops upon equal, or even nearly equal, terms. But ſo uncommon an event as the capture of a whole army of their enemies animated them with freſh ardour, invigorated the exertions of the congreſs, leſſened in the mind of the American ſoldier the high opinion which he had entertained of Britiſh valour and diſcipline, and inſpired him with a juſter confidence in himſelf.

The conſequences, however, which this event produced in Europe were of ſtill greater moment. In Great Britain the moſt ſanguine expectations had been raiſed from the Canada expedition, the rapid ſucceſs of which, in its firſt ſtages, ſeemed to promiſe the moſt fortunate iſſue. A junction of the northern army with that at New York was confidently expected; and it was hoped that by this junction a deciſive blow would be given to the rebellion, by cutting off the northern from the middle and ſouthern colonies. The Britiſh nation, elevated with ſuch hopes, and encouraged to cheriſh them by the firſt intelligence from Canada, which brought an account of the almoſt inſtantaneous reduction of Ticonderoga, and the deſtruction or capture of the provincial naval force in Lake Champlain, ſuffered proportionate diſappointment upon hearing of the ultimate failure of the expedition and the total loſs of the army. But if the diſappointment of the nation was great, that of the miniſtry was ſtill greater; and in a fit of deſpondency, it would ſeem, they determined, for the ſake of peace, and of getting rid of a troubleſome and expenſive war, to give up every thing for which they had originally contended. To the ſurpriſe of all, and to the no ſmall mortification of thoſe who had hitherto zealouſly ſupported the

1778.
Bills brought into parliament for reconciliation and peace with the Americans.

the meaſures of adminiſtration, the miniſter in the month of February introduced two bills into the houſe of commons, which were paſſed through both houſes of parliament with great diſpatch, and received the royal aſſent on the eleventh of March. By the firſt of theſe the duty payable on tea imported into America, which was the original cauſe of diſpute, was repealed, and a legiſlative declaration was made, that the king and parliament of Great Britain would not in future impoſe any tax or duty whatſoever payable in the colonies, except only ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the regulation of trade, and in ſuch caſe that the nett produce of the duty ſo impoſed ſhould be applied to the particular uſe of that colony in which it ſhould be collected, in the ſame manner as other duties collected under the authority of the aſſemblies. By the other of theſe acts, authority was given to the king to appoint commiſſioners with full powers to treat, conſult, and agree, with any aſſemblies of men whatſoever in America, and even with individuals, concerning any grievances exiſting in the government of any of the colonies, or in the laws of Great Britain extending to them, concerning any contributions to be furniſhed by the colonies, and concerning any other regulations which might be for the common good of both countries; with a proviſo, however, that ſuch agreement ſhould not be binding until ratified by parliament. But in the following inſtances the commiſſioners were to be inveſted with abſolute power, exerciſeable however according to their diſcretion, for proclaiming a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, for opening an intercourſe with the mother-country, for ſuſpending the operation of all acts of parliament relating to the North American colonies paſſed ſince the tenth of February 1763, and for granting pardons to all deſcriptions of perſons.

Never perhaps was there a moment during the whole of the Britiſh hiſtory, in which the nation had greater cauſe of mortification than at the time of paſſing theſe acts: And it will be difficult to defend the miniſters of that day againſt the imputation of either want of wiſdom or want of firmneſs. If what was now propoſed was a right meaſure, it ought to have been adopted at firſt, and before the ſword was drawn: On the other hand, if the claims of the mother-country over her colonies were originally worth contending for, the ſtrength and reſources of the nation were not yet ſo far exhauſted as to juſtify miniſters in relinquiſhing them without a further ſtruggle. But ſuch was the diſappointment in conſequence of the failure of the expedition from Canada, and ſo great an alteration had it produced in the opinions of thoſe who directed the councils of the nation, that the conceſſions which had been repeatedly refuſed to the petitions of the coloniſts were now to be offered to them with arms in their hands; and they were even to be courted and intreated to accept of them.

This moment of deſpondence, humiliation, and debaſement, was ſeized by the court of Verſailles to give a fatal blow to the overgrown power of her rival. Ever ſince the commencement of the rebellion the American coloniſts had been encouraged in their revolt by ſecret aſſurances of aſſiſtance from the court of France, and by ſupplies of money, arms, and ammunition, clandeſtinely conveyed to them. The French were in the mean time making preparations; and their original deſign was, probably, to abſtain from an open declaration, until Great Britain and her colonies had mutually weakened each other in their civil contention. But the diſaſter which happened to general Burgoyne's army, and the conſequent conciliatory meaſures about to be adopted by the Britiſh cabinet, at laſt obliged them to throw off the maſque. They knew that the Americans, notwithſtanding their ſucceſs at Saratoga, ſtill laboured under very great difficulties; and that, for want of internal reſources, whilſt their foreign trade was almoſt annihilated by the Britiſh cruiſers, it was impoſſible for them, without aſſiſtance, to keep a reſpectable army in the field for any length of time; and they dreaded, leſt, under

ſuch

1778.
Treaties entered into between the French king and the thirteen revolted colonies.

ſuch unpromiſing circumſtances, they ſhould be induced to accept the very liberal terms which they knew were to be offered to them*. To prevent this, and to defeat the effect of the conciliatory meaſures about to be adopted by the Britiſh cabinet, two treaties were now entered into between the French king and the thirteen revolted colonies; one of commerce, and another of defenſive alliance; which were finally ſigned at Paris the ſixth of February in the preſent year, by the chevalier Gerard, in behalf of the French king, and by Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, in behalf of the American colonies. The firſt of theſe, as its title imports, was intended to regulate the commerce to be carried on between the countries of the contracting parties; and the principal object of the other was to ſecure the ſovereignty and independence of the revolted colonies; it being ſtipulated, that if a war in conſequence of this treaty ſhould break out between Great Britain and France, the two contracting parties ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other according to their power and ability, and that peace ſhould not be made without the conſent of both, nor until the ſovereignty and independence of the colonies, both in matters of government and commerce, ſhould be either expreſly or tacitly acknowledged by the king of Great Britain.

A meaſure of ſuch conſequence could not, even in France, eſcape the vigilance and penetration of the lord viſcount Stormont, the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, who, with the utmoſt purity of morals, and even in the midſt of literary purſuits, knew how to eſtimate the friendly profeſſions, and to penetrate the real views and deſigns, of ambitious courts. Intelligence of the engagements between France and America was quickly tranſmitted by the viſcount to the Britiſh miniſtry; and this was the cauſe why the conciliatory bills were paſſed with ſo much diſpatch through the two houſes of parliament. It was, perhaps, hoped that they might reach America before the congreſs had received intelligence of what had been done in France, but certainly before they had ratified the new engagements entered into by their deputies; and, that they might be apprized of what was intended, even before it was completed, rough draughts of the bills, as ſoon as they were introduced into parliament, were immediately diſpatched to the commander in chief in America, to be forwarded to the congreſs. The conciliatory acts of parliament being paſſed, and a commiſſion made out under the great ſeal, the earl of Carliſle, William Eden, and George Johnſtone, eſquires (who, with the admiral and the general commanding in America, or, in caſe of the abſence of the latter, ſir Henry Clinton, were the perſons named in the commiſſion, and entruſted with the execution of the powers for ſettling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies), ſailed for America on the twenty-ſecond of April.

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* Before the receſs of parliament for the Chriſtmas holidays it was known that new and very liberal terms of reconciliation were to be offered to the Americans: And on the 24th of December the treaties between France and the revolted colonies were firſt agreed upon, although they were not formally ſigned till the 6th of February following.

Commiſſioners appointed for ſettling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies.

Rupture between Great Britain and France.

Somewhat more than a month previous to the ſailing of the commiſſioners, the French ambaſſador, by order of his court, formally notified to that of London the nature of the engagements entered into between his ſovereign and the American colonies, and ſome days after quitted London and returned to France, about the ſame time that the Britiſh ambaſſador quitted Paris. This notification was conſidered as amounting to a declaration of war; and although war was not actually declared, both kingdoms vigorouſly prepared for open hoſtilities.

Fate of Burgoyne's army.

Such was the train of political conſequences which, in ſucceſſion, followed the capture of general Burgoyne's army. Here it may be proper to notice the ſubſequent fate of thoſe brave but unfortunate men, whom the chance of war had thus ſubjected to the power of the Americans. By one of the articles of capitulation it was ſtipu-

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lated that the ſurrendering army ſhould be at liberty to tranſport itſelf to Great Britain, upon condition of not ſerving againſt America during the war. Boſton was fixed upon as the place from which it was to embark; and thither the Britiſh troops were marched to wait for tranſports. When the army had reached its aſſigned quarters, it was found that it would be much eaſier, and more expeditious, to march the troops acroſs the country to Rhode Iſland, to meet the tranſports, than at that ſeaſon of the year, it being the middle of winter, to bring the tranſports from thence round to Boſton. An application was accordingly made by general Burgoyne to the congreſs, for leave to change the place of embarkation from Boſton to Rhode Iſland, or ſome other port in its neighbourhood. But the congreſs, probably reflecting that the moment the convention troops landed in England, an equal number could be ſpared from thence to ſupply their place in America, determined, inſtead of complying with the general's requeſt, to prohibit the embarkation of the Saratoga troops from any port whatſoever, "until a diſtinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga ſhould be properly "notified by the court of Great Britain to congreſs;" and entered upon their journals a reſolution to that effect. This reſolution was evidently a breach of the convention. It was admitted to be ſo by the congreſs themſelves; but as a kind of juſtification, they pretended to ſet forth ſome grounds of ſuſpicion that the Britiſh troops did not hold themſelves bound by the convention, and meant, if they were ſuffered to depart, inſtead of returning to Great Britain, to join the army at New York. They alſo attempted to ſpecify ſome inſtances in which, on the part of the Britiſh troops, the convention had already been broken; but the inſtances on which they relied were of a nature ſo frivolous and unimportant, that it was clear to all the world that the congreſs, by this proceeding, ſacrificed national faith and honour to preſent convenience.

It was in vain that general Burgoyne remonſtrated to the congreſs againſt the injuſtice of this reſolution, and proved, to a demonſtration, that there was no breach of the convention on the part of the Britiſh troops, even in thoſe inſtances, frivolous and futile as they were, on which that aſſembly relied. In order to remove every doubt, and ſilence every objection, he offered to enter into a new engagement, ſhould it be deſired, and to engage his officers to join in it, for fulfilling all the articles of the convention. But the congreſs determined not to be ſatisfied, and obſtinately perſiſted in the reſolution which they had taken. They gave the general leave to return to Great Britain upon his parole, to be forthcoming when called for, but they retained his army in captivity; which, after remaining more than a year in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, was marched from thence as far to the ſouthward as Virginia, in the interior parts of which new quarters were aſſigned to it; nor were any of the convention troops releaſed during the war, except ſuch as were exchanged for American priſoners; although repeated offers were made by ſir Henry Clinton, and by the American commiſſioners, to ratify or renew, on the part of Great Britain, all the articles of that convention.

We ſhould now return to the two armies, which we left towards the middle of the preſent year, the one in Philadelphia, and the other encamped in huts in the woods at Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, where general Waſhington had determined to remain, that he might be enabled to ſend out detachments during the winter to hover round the Britiſh quarters, for the purpoſe of preventing a communication between them and ſuch of the inhabitants in the country as were well affected to the Britiſh cauſe: An object which, as we have ſeen, for ſome time, he in part accompliſhed. But before we reſume the narrative of military operations it will be proper to advert to certain political tranſactions and circumſtances by which theſe were immediately preceded, and, in ſome meaſure, affected.

1778. The commiſſioners for peace arrive in America, and enter on the execution of their office.

Within leſs than a fortnight after ſir William Howe's departure from Philadelphia, the Britiſh commiſſioners ſent to offer peace to North America, arrived in the Delaware, and without delay entered on the execution of their office.

Here it may be proper, before we proceed, to relate the ſteps which they took to fulfil the purpoſes of their miſſion; to throw into one point of view ſome previous proceedings of the congreſs, by which it will appear that, even before the arrival of the commiſſioners, and without waiting to hear what they might have to urge, that aſſembly had determined not to accept the terms which they had to offer. In the month of November of the preceding year, the congreſs, with a view of removing the only obſtacle or ground of apprehenſion which impeded the ſucceſs of their application to the court of France, entered into a reſolution, declaring that all propoſals for a treaty with the king of Great Britain, inconſiſtent with the independence of the United States, or with ſuch alliances as might be formed under their authority, would be rejected. And in the month of April of the preſent year, upon the arrival of the rough draughts of the conciliatory bills, they paſſed reſolutions of ſuch a contemptuous, inſulting, and provoking nature, as left no hope that any reaſonable terms of accommodation would be accepted *. In theſe reſolutions they affected to conſider thoſe bills as the ſequel of an inſidious plan formed by the Britiſh government for enſlaving America. The object of them, they maintained, was to diſunite the colonies, create diviſions, and prevent foreign powers from interfering in their behalf. They pretended to demonſtrate

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* See the Reſolutions of Congreſs of the 22d of April 1778.

that thoſe bills were an evidence either of the weakneſs or wickedneſs of the Britiſh government, or both; and, after various other ſarcaſtic ſtrictures, they finally reſolved, that any man, or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make a ſeparate agreement with the Britiſh commiſſioners, ought to be conſidered as open and avowed enemies; and that the United States neither could nor would hold any conference with theſe commiſſioners, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe in poſitive and expreſs terms acknowledge the independence of the United States. It happened too, that the conciliatory bills, after they had been paſſed through both houſes of parliament, and received the royal aſſent, being immediately diſpatched to America, reached that country ſome days previous to the arrival of the commiſſioners. They were forthwith forwarded to congreſs; but that aſſembly returned no other anſwer * than to refer to the aforeſaid reſolutions, in which they alledged that they had already expreſſed their ſentiments upon bills not eſſentially different from thoſe which were now tranſmitted to them.

Although theſe previous proceedings afforded a very unfavourable proſpect of the ſucceſs of the negotiation, which was rendered ſtill more hopeleſs by the arrival of Silas Deane at York Town on the ſecond of May, with copies of the treaties, already mentioned, entered into between the French king and the American plenipotentiaries at Paris, the commiſſioners nevertheleſs entered upon the execution of their office with apparent alacrity. They diſpatched their ſecretary, doctor Adam Ferguſon, a name well known in the literary world, to proceed to York Town, and lay before the congreſs a copy of their commiſſion, with the concili-

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* Reſolutions of Congreſs of the 6th of June 1778.

atory acts of parliament upon which it was founded, and a letter explaining the extent of their powers, and ſetting forth in detail the nature of thoſe terms which they were authoriſed to offer for ſettling the differences between the mother-country and her colonies; and propoſing to the congreſs that they ſhould appoint a place for the Britiſh commiſſioners to meet them, either collectively or by deputation, for the further diſcuſſion of every ſubject of difference. A previous application had been made to general Waſhington for a paſſport and ſafe-conduct for Dr. Ferguſon, which it was not doubted would have been granted; but upon his arrival at the firſt out-poſt of the American army, he was not ſuffered to proceed any farther, general Waſhington having refuſed to grant a paſſport, until he ſhould conſult the congreſs, and have their permiſſion. Thus a man, whoſe unſtained integrity precluded ſuſpicion, and the celebrity of whoſe writings, it might have been ſuppoſed, would have ſecured to him a favourable reception in any civilized country on the face of the earth, was refuſed permiſſion even to paſs through the American territory, although the meſſenger of peace and reconciliation. Such are ever the harſh and ungracious effects of ſtern republican policy. Dr. Ferguſon, being thus denied a paſſport, returned to Philadelphia; and, that no delay might enſue, the papers of which he was intended to have been the bearer were now forwarded to congreſs by the ordinary military poſts of their army, and reached York Town on the thirteenth of June. After deliberating for ſome days on the ſubject of theſe communications, the congreſs, through their preſident, returned for anſwer, that the acts of parliament, the commiſſion and the commiſſioners letter, all of them ſuppoſed the people of the American States to be ſubjects of the king of Great Britain, and were founded on an idea of dependance which was utterly inadmiſſible: But that they were ready

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to enter upon the conſideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, whenever the king of Great Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; the only proof of which would be an explicit acknowledgment of their independence, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies; and they approved of general Waſhington's conduct in refuſing a paſſport to Dr. Ferguſon. Such was the anſwer of congreſs to the Britiſh commiſſioners; an anſwer which ſhewed that all negotiation, except upon the ground of acknowledging their independence, would be unavailing, and that nothing but conqueſt could re-unite the colonies to the Britiſh empire: And ſuch the iſſue of this ſecond attempt to bring about a reconciliation; which, whatever might be the effect of it in Great Britain towards inducing a greater union of ſentiment on the ſubject of colonial affairs, produced in America no good conſequence whatſoever. It flattered the pride of the American republicans, confirmed them in purſuing the meaſures which they had adopted, and finally eſtabliſhed the authority of congreſs, which the commiſſioners had in fact recognized by offering to treat with them. On the other hand, it had a moſt unfavourable effect upon all the inhabitants of the colonies who were attached to the Britiſh cauſe: Thoſe who had not yet openly declared their ſentiments, were diſcouraged and diſheartened; whilſt the active and perſecuted loyaliſt was plunged into the deepeſt deſpair. Even the officers of the army felt themſelves lowered in their own eſtimation, when, without any apparent neceſſity, they ſaw every thing for which they had been yet contending, in effect given up. To this order of men, therefore, as well as to the proſcribed loyaliſts, the contemptuous proceedings of congreſs, in conſequence of an application which was conſidered as the greateſt act of condeſcenſion on the part of the mother-country, was peculiarly offenſive, and gave a new edge to their reſentment. They hoped, as all reaſonable proſpect of accommodation was at an end, that the moſt ſtrenuous exertions would be made to take ſignal vengeance on the authors and abettors of the rebellion, whoſe guilt was now aggravated by their inſolence; and they looked with impatience for the moment when they ſhould be led out to aſſail the American camp at Valley Forge.

CHAP. XXII.

The Evacuation of Philadelphia—General Waſhingtc: prepares to impede and haraſs the Britiſh Troops in their Retreat—Sir H. Clinton purſues his March to New York by Sandy Hook—Diſpoſition of the American Army—And of the Britiſh—Battle of Freehold Court Houſe in the County of Monmouth—The Britiſh Army arrives at New York.

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BUT the firſt active meaſure of the campaign did not accord with ſuch expectations. This was no other than the evacuation of Philadelphia, and the retreat of the army to New York. Preparations for this purpoſe were making even while the commiſſioners were tranſmitting their diſpatches to congreſs; and before an anſwer was received the evacuation had actually taken place.

Through the interference of a hoſtile maritime power, the command of the ſea was about to be diſputed by the contending parties. Hence greater circumſpection became neceſſary in the choice of poſts for the Britiſh army. It was uncertain where the French might attempt to ſtrike a blow; whether upon the continent of America, or in the Weſt Indies. It was therefore proper that the army ſhould occupy a ſtation from which reinforcements might be moſt eaſily and expeditiouſly ſent wherever they ſhould be required. But of all the ſtations hitherto occupied by the ſouthern army, Philadelphia was the leaſt adapted to ſuch a purpoſe. It was diſtant from the ſea not leſs than a hundred miles, and communicated with it only by a winding river. Theſe, or other more weighty conſiderations, influenced the miniſtry ſo far, that orders were ſent from England for the evacuation of Philadelphia; which was effected at three in the morning of the eighteenth of June, the army retiring to the point of land below the town formed by the confluence of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, where the boats and veſſels belonging to the navy were ready to receive them. And ſo judicious was the admiral's arrangement, on this occaſion, that the whole army, with its baggage, was paſſed over the Delaware, and encamped on the Jerſey ſhore, by ten in the forenoon; meeting with little interruption from the enemy, though the Americans entered Philadelphia before the Britiſh entirely left it. The ſame fleet of tranſports that carried the ſoldiers, proviſions, and ſtores, carried alſo the property of the Philadelphian merchants attached to government. The great body of the loyaliſts of Philadelphia went along with the army: Such of them as had the imprudence to remain behind were treated with great ſeverity. Some were baniſhed. Several were thrown into priſon, and tried for their lives. Two of theſe, Roberts and Carliſle, very reſpectable characters, of the ſect of Quakers, ſuffered death.

The country through which the Britiſh army had to march being naturally ſtrong, and abounding with difficult paſſes, which, if occupied by the enemy, might greatly retard its progreſs, ſir Henry Clinton thought it neceſſary, in order to guard againſt the conſequences of ſuch obſtructions, to carry along with him a conſiderable quantity of baggage and a large ſupply of proviſions. The progreſs of the army, thus heavily incumbered, was uncommonly ſlow.

The preparations and arrangements previous to the evacuation could not be made ſo ſecretly but that intelligence of them was conveyed to general Waſhington. From this intelligence he was en-

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abled to penetrate the deſign, and had detached general Maxwell with a brigade into New Jerſey, with orders to aſſemble the militia, break down the bridges, and, by every means in his power, impede and haraſs the Britiſh troops in their retreat, until he, with the main army, ſhould croſs the Delaware and fall upon their rear. There are two roads leading from Philadelphia to New York; one along the weſtern ſhore of the Delaware, as high as Trenton Ferry; the other, that which was taken by the Britiſh army, running parallel with the firſt, but on the eaſtern bank of the river. The route of the Britiſh army being along the eaſtern bank of the Delaware as high as Trenton, general Waſhington was obliged to make a conſiderable circuit to croſs it higher up. But, even after he had effected his paſſage, he kept for ſome time a very cautious and reſpectful diſtance, ſending forward detachments of his light troops to watch the motions of the Britiſh army, and hang on its flanks and rear. A little to the left of the moſt northerly road leading from Trenton to New York, the country of New Jerſey becomes high and mountainous. This country general Waſhington entered when he paſſed the Delaware at Correll's Ferry, and he thought that the very ſlow movement of the Britiſh army indicated a deſign in ſir Henry Clinton to draw him down from his advantageous ſituation, and either force an engagement in the level country, or, by a rapid movement, gain the high grounds which he had quitted. This idea alone can account for the extreme caution with which he approached a retreating enemy. The courſe of the Britiſh army now pointed from the Delaware; and the farther it advanced in this new direction, the more general Waſhington ſtrengthened his detachments; all of which were compoſed of choſen men.

Sir Henry Clinton had hitherto met with very little moleſtation from the enemy. His light troops had been ſufficient to drive the Americans from the paſſes which they occupied; and the greateſt impediments which he met with, aroſe from the deſtruction of the bridges. His courſe, ſo far as he had yet gone, was the ſame, whether he meant to proceed to New York by the way of Sandy Hook, or by South Amboy, oppoſite to Staten Iſland, and the North River; but he had now arrived at that point where the highways diverge, and where it was neceſſary for him to make an option which of theſe roads, during the remainder of his march, he would purſue. The roads which led to Staten Iſland and the North River on the left, were the ſhorteſt; but in that direction the river Rariton intervened, the paſſing of which, in the face of an enemy ſuperior in number, might be both difficult and dangerous; more eſpecially as intelligence had been received that general Gates, with another army, was advancing from the northward to form a junction with general Waſhington, near that river. This conſideration determined the Britiſh general to take the road which led to Sandy Hook, as that which preſented the feweſt impediments to obſtruct his progreſs, and by inclining to the right carried him clear of the courſe of the Rariton altogether. Along this road, therefore, the Britiſh army was ordered to march; and having proceeded ſome miles, they encamped on the twenty-ſeventh of June on ſome high grounds in the neighbourhood of Freehold Court-houſe, in the county of Monmouth.

Sir H. Clinton purſues his march to New York by Sandy Hook.

General Waſhington had from time to time ſo powerfully reinforced his advanced detachments, that the marquis de la Fayette firſt, and afterwards general Lee, were in ſucceſſion ſent to take the command of them. They now amounted, according to general Waſhington's account, to more than five thouſand men, and had taken poſt at Engliſh Town, a few miles in the rear of the Britiſh army. A corps of ſix hundred men under colonel Morgan, hovered on the right flank of the Britiſh, and eight hundred of the Jerſey militia, under general Dickenſon, were on the left; whilſt

Diſpoſition of the American army.

general Waſhington, with the main body of the American army, encamped about three miles in the rear of his advanced corps.

Such was the diſpoſition of the two armies on the evening of the twenty-ſeventh of June; and as it was now obvious, from the courſe which the Britiſh army had lately taken, that their march was a real retreat, and not a feint; this diſcovery ſeems to have at laſt determined the American general to riſque an attack; which he reſolved to make the following morning, before the Britiſh troops ſhould reach an advantageous poſition, about twelve miles in their front. Orders were accordingly ſent to general Lee to begin the attack with the advanced corps as ſoon as the Britiſh army ſhould be in motion, with an intimation that general Waſhington, with the main body of the American army, would advance and ſupport him. Sir Henry Clinton was ſufficiently apprized that general Waſhington, with the American army, was near him, from the frequent appearance of his light troops during the preceding day; and judging that his deſign was rather to make an attempt upon the baggage, in which he thought himſelf vulnerable, than to riſque a general engagement, he made a new diſpoſition in order more effectually to protect it. The army marched in two diviſions; the van commanded by general Knyphauſen, and the rear by lord Cornwallis; but the whole of the baggage was now put under the care of general Knyphauſen's diviſion, that the rear diviſion, under lord Cornwallis, which conſiſted of the flower of the Britiſh army, being diſincumbered, might be ready to act with vigour, as circumſtances ſhould require. This arrangement being made, general Knyphauſen's diviſion, conſiſting of the German troops, the yagers excepted, and the ſecond battalion of light infantry, with the baggage, marched in purſuance of orders at break of day on the twenty-eighth of June, whilſt the other diviſion, with which the commander in chief remained, did not

and of the Britiſh.

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not move till near eight, that it might not preſs too cloſe upon the baggage, which was ſo enormous as to occupy a line of march of near twelve miles in extent. But ſcarcely had the rear-guard of the Britiſh army deſcended from the heights of Freehold, into a plain of three miles in length and one in breadth, when the advanced corps of the American army was ſeen approaching, and ſoon afterwards deſcending into the plain from the ſame heights which the Britiſh army had juſt before quitted. About the ſame time intelligence was brought that large columns of the enemy were ſeen marching on both flanks. This intelligence confirmed the Britiſh general in his firſt opinion, that the deſign of the enemy was upon his baggage; and as that was now engaged in defiles which would continue for a conſiderable diſtance, no other mode of affording relief to general Knyphauſen's diviſion appeared to him ſo eligible as that of making a vigorous attack upon the corps which appeared in his rear, and, if ſucceſsful, of preſſing it ſo cloſely, that the detachments ſent forward on his flanks might be recalled to its aſſiſtance. A diſpoſition was accordingly made for commencing the attack in the plain; but before it could be carried into execution the provincials retired, and took poſt on the high ground from which they had before deſcended. This was a ſtrong poſition: But it was neceſſary to attempt ſomething deciſive for the relief of the baggage, and orders being given for the Britiſh troops to aſcend the heights, the attack was made with ſo much ſpirit, that the provincials were quickly obliged to give way. Their ſecond line, which was alſo ſtrongly poſted, now preſented itſelf to view. Here the reſiſtance was greater; but notwithſtanding the heat of the day, which was extreme, the Britiſh troops, fatigued as they were, advanced to the charge with ſo much order, firmneſs, and intrepidity, that their ſucceſs in this ſecond attack was not leſs complete than in the firſt. The provin-

Battle of Freehold Court-houſe in the county of Monmouth.

provincials now fled on all ſides; when, in this critical moment, general Waſhington coming up with the main body of his army, took poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong ground behind a defile, over which the Britiſh troops muſt neceſſarily paſs in purſuit of the fugitives; and by his timely arrival, and the judicious poſition which he took, probably ſaved his advanced corps from total ruin. Already part of the ſecond Britiſh line had moved to the front, and occupied ſome ground upon the left flank of the enemy, which was actually turned by the light-infantry and queen's rangers; but the Britiſh general having reconnoitred their poſition, and ſeeing, in conſequence of the difficulty of the defile, the impoſſibility of attacking them in front with any proſpect of ſucceſs, and being alſo confident that the end was gained for which the attack had been made, recalled his victorious troops, ready to ſink under the heat and fatigue of the day, and retiring to the advantageous poſition where the firſt attack had been made, ſuffered them to reſt till ten in the evening; when he reſumed his march to join general Knyphauſen's diviſion with the baggage, carrying his wounded along with him, except ſuch as could not with ſafety be moved. Some attempts had been made upon the baggage by the enemy's light troops, which were quickly repelled through the able diſpoſition made by general Knyphauſen for its ſecurity; and the two brigades of the enemy which had been ſent forward on this ſervice, one on each flank, were ſoon recalled, in conſequence of the events which happened in the rear. In the different engagements of this day, the whole loſs of the Britiſh army in killed, wounded, miſſing, and thoſe who died of fatigue, amounted to three hundred and fifty-eight men, including twenty officers. Amongſt the ſlain the officer of greateſt note was the honourable lieutenant-colonel Monckton, who fell at the head of the ſecond battalion of grenadiers, greatly and deſervedly lamented: And ſuch was the extreme heat of the day, that three ſerjeants, and fifty-ſix men, dropped dead without a wound. Colonel Monckton had been ſelected for the hazardous duty to which he was this day appointed, on account of the cool intrepidity of his character. By his military qualities, and amiable virtues, he acquired the eſteem and the affection of both the officers and the men. Theſe paid the moſt marked tribute of reſpect to his memory. During the confuſion of a dangerous cannonade, the battalion in parties relieved each other, until, with their bayonets (being deſtitute of more proper tools), they perfected a grave, where they laid the body of their beloved commanding officer, placing over it with their hands the earth they had moiſtened with their tears.

The loſs of the Americans exceeded, by a little, that of the Britiſh army; for, according to their own accounts, it amounted to three hundred and ſixty-one men, including thirty-two officers.

The events of this day were celebrated by the provincials as a victory; but with what juſtice the particulars which we have related will ſerve to ſhew. And, independently of theſe, it is apparent that general Waſhington had, in this day's engagement, received ſuch a check as determined him to draw off his troops towards the North River, and moleſt his retreating enemy no farther. Waſhington, in his public letter, ſays that he lay cloſe to the Britiſh army after the action; but that it went off in ſuch ſilence, as to give no alarm of its retreat to the Americans. This ſilence, however, it is well known, met with one interruption; for, juſt as the Britiſh were beginning to move, ſome horſes or cattle were ſtraggling through a wood, and a battalion of light-infantry, taking them for the enemy, began a fire upon them, which continued for five minutes. But general Waſhington dates his letter to Lee, on that ſame night, from Engliſh Town, three miles from the field of battle.

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The conduct of general Lee on this day, which was ſo ſeverely arraigned, and unjuſtly puniſhed by the Americans, was worthy of applauſe and admiration. He had been betrayed acroſs ſome narrow paſſes of a marſh by the perſuaſion that he had to deal with a rear-guard of only two or three battalions. When he ſuddenly perceived ſix thouſand men, including the Britiſh light-infantry and grenadiers, forming to receive him, he retired with ſuch quickneſs of deciſion, though not attacked, that he had repaſſed the marſh before our line was in readineſs to move. Had he, in expectation of ſupport, maintained his ground on the plain, until the Britiſh had attacked him, he muſt have been overpowered, and would not have had any retreat. On the other hand, the conduct of the commanders in chief of the contending armies, though each of them claimed a victory, was made the ſubject of animadverſion. Why, it was aſked, did general Clinton encumber himſelf with ſo enormous a train of baggage? Why, when a rapid retreat was his object, did he halt the army, without being fatigued by long marches, for two days at Freehold? It was undoubtedly his buſineſs to gain a communication with the fleet as quickly as poſſible; as it was of Waſhington again to cut it off. At no time on the march did general Clinton ſhew any other diſpoſition than that of retreating to New York. General Waſhington's caution is therefore cenſurable. He ought to have attacked ſo encumbered an army with all his light troops, and, in ſpite of partial defeats, contended, in ſuch favourable circumſtances, for ultimate victory. The check that the advanced guard of the American army ſuſtained did not, it was ſaid, appear to be ſo great as to juſtify a declination of all farther attempts againſt the Britiſh army, even at that very time. Having come up with the main body of his army, freſh and untired troops, he ſhould have endeavoured to turn one of general Clinton's flanks. Had he ſucceeded, that part of the Britiſh army muſt have been deſtroyed, as, immediately after quitting the plain, any regular mode of retreat would have been impracticable; for, on one ſide, the road was commanded by a pine barren precipice; while below, on the other, it was frightfully interſected and cut up by frequent gullies and ravines. Theſe, continued on both ſides for five or ſix miles, precluded the action of flanking parties, at the ſame time that the ſummit of the precipice, open to an aſſailing army, would have poured eaſy deſtruction on a retreating enemy. Succeſs in this quarter would have ſecured equal ſucceſs on the part of the army that was encumbered with baggage. And to all theſe circumſtances, ſo much in favour of the American general, was added the almoſt immediate appearance of a French fleet on the coaſt of America.

Yet, in ſuch a conjuncture of affairs, it was obſerved the Britiſh general riſked, and even courted an action, while the American ſuffered the important occaſion to paſs by, when he might have terminated the war by one great and deciſive effort.

The Britiſh army proceeded on its march, until, the baggage having reached Sandy Hook, there was no farther apprehenſion for its ſecurity. The fleet from the Delaware was there ready to receive it; and whilſt preparations were making, by a bridge of boats, for tranſporting the troops acroſs an inlet of the ſea which ſeparates Sandy Hook from the continent, ſir Henry Clinton, with the army, lay encamped at the diſtance of ſome miles in the country, eagerly expecting general Waſhington to come up, and fully determined to give him battle. But Waſhington was, by this time, on his march to the North River; and the Britiſh general having remained for two days in this ſituation, without ſeeing any thing of the provincials, proceeded from thence to Sandy Hook, where the army was embarked on the fifth of July, and the ſame day landed at New York.

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1778. The Britiſh army arrives at New York. July.

It may be mentioned as a fact in natural hiſtory, but not unconnected with this narrative, that the peninſula of Sandy Hook, by the ſtorms of the preceding winter, had been converted into an iſland, which made it neceſſary to paſs the troops acroſs the channel by a floating bridge. The queen's rangers, who formed the rear guard when the bridge was broken up, embarked from the Jerſey ſide in boats.

CHAP. XXIII.

The French Fleet ſets ſail from Toulon to North America—Thither alſo a Britiſh Fleet ſets ſail under Vice-Admiral Byron—The Count D'Eſtaing, miſſing the Britiſh Army in Philadelphia, comes to an Anchor off New York—The Harbour of this Place defended by a ſmall Fleet, under Lord Howe—D'Eſtaing ſets ſail to the Southward—but changes his Courſe, and arrives at Rhode Iſland—American Preparations for an Attempt on Rhode Iſland—fruſtrated—Naval Operations—Lord Howe reſigns the Command of the Fleet to Admiral Gambier.

CHAP. XXIII.
1778.

A French fleet ſails from Toulon to North America.

THE French, as ſoon as they had determined to take an open and active part in behalf of the revolted colonies, began immediately to arm by ſea. At Toulon they equipped a fleet of twelve ſhips of the line and ſix frigates; which, with a conſiderable number of troops on board, ſailed from thence on the thirteenth of April, under the command of the count D'Eſtaing; but from adverſe winds, did not paſs the ſtraits of Gibraltar till the fifteenth of May.

Thither alſo a Britiſh fleet ſets ſail from Plymouth, under vice-admiral Byron

The Britiſh miniſtry, who were not unapprized of this equipment, got ready a fleet of an equal number of ſhips, the command of which was given to vice-admiral Byron. With this fleet the admiral left Portſmouth on the twentieth of May, and proceeding to Plymouth, finally ſailed from thence on the ninth of June, after ſuch advices had been received as no longer left it doubtful that the

Toulon ſquadron was bound to North America. Theſe advices were brought by captain Sutton of the Proſerpine, who, from the ſtraits of Gibraltar, had followed the French fleet for ninety leagues on its paſſage. The count D'Eſtaing, thus poſſeſſed of the advantage of being firſt at ſea, proceeded on his paſſage, and arrived on the coaſt of Virginia on the fifth of July, the ſame day on which the Britiſh army had embarked at Sandy Hook. He probably expected to have found that army in Philadelphia, and lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware: And had he found them in this ſituation, it is not eaſy to determine what might have been the conſequence of a joint operation between him and general Waſhington. Some have thought that the fate of both the Britiſh fleet and army would have been perilouſly critical; whilſt others, leſs prone to deſpondence, have maintained with much confidence, that nothing was to be apprehended by either, ſo long as their proviſions laſted; of which they had a ſufficient ſtock to enable them to hold out till the arrival of admiral Byron.

The count D'Eſtaing, miſſing the Britiſh army in Philadelphia, comes to an anchor off New York.

The count D'Eſtaing, diſappointed in his firſt object by the evacuation of Philadelphia, of which he received intelligence whilſt he lay off the mouth of the Cheſapeak, coaſted along the American ſhore to the northward, and on the eleventh of July in the evening came to an anchor off New York, with an apparent deſign of attempting to enter the harbour.

The harbour of this place defended by a ſmall fleet under lord Howe.

The naval force under lord Howe, although much inferior to the fleet under the count D'Eſtaing, was nevertheleſs reſpectable; the ſhips being well manned, and moſt ably officered. It conſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, and four of fifty guns, with a number of frigates and ſmaller veſſels: And, intelligence of the count D'Eſtaing's approach having been received ſome days before he came in ſight, a maſterly diſpoſition of this force, for the defence of the harbour, had already been made under the immediate direction of the admiral, whoſe exertions were moſt nobly ſeconded by the univerſal ardour which prevailed not only in the navy, army, and tranſport ſervice, but amongſt all ranks and claſſes of people at New York, who ran in crowds to offer their ſervice as volunteers. A Britiſh fleet blocked up in one of its own ports was ſuch a phænomenon as filled them with indignation.

For ſome time after the count D'Eſtaing came to an anchor the wind was unfavourable to the execution of his ſuppoſed intention; but on the twenty-ſecond of July it changed to the eaſtward, and the French fleet were ſeen getting under way. The long-meditated attack, it was now ſuppoſed, was inſtantly to be made; and ſo confident were all, that it would prove abortive in conſequence of the preparations made for defence, that the critical moment which was to decide, not only the fate of the Britiſh fleet, but of the army, was waited for with impatience. But the count D'Eſtaing, to their great diſappointment, as ſoon as his ſhips had weighed anchor, inſtead of attempting to enter the harbour, made ſail to the ſouthward, and was ſoon out of ſight. Whether he ever ſeriouſly intended to make an attempt upon the harbour of New York, but, after reconnoitring its ſituation, with the diſpoſitions made for defence, relinquiſhed the deſign as impracticable; or whether his appearing before that harbour was only a feint to draw the attention of the Britiſh commanders from the place where his attack was really intended; is uncertain: But after quitting New York, and ſtanding to the ſouthward, as far as the mouth of the Delaware, he changed his courſe, and ſteered directly for Rhode Iſland, before which he arrived on the twenty-ninth of July. Here at leaſt it was ſoon obvious that he meditated a real attack, in which general Sullivan, with a detachment from Waſhington's army, and a force collected from the neighbouring country of New England, was to co-operate.

The count D'Eſtaing ſets ſail to the ſouthward;

but changes his courſe, and arrives at Rhode Iſland, July 29th.

1778. American preparations for an attempt on Rhode Iſland,

The expulſion of the Britiſh troops from Rhode Iſland had been in the contemplation of the provincials for ſeveral months paſt. In the ſpring of this year general Sullivan was ſent to take the command in its neighbourhood, and made preparations for invading it. To theſe preparations major-general ſir Robert Pigott, who commanded at Rhode Iſland, was not inattentive; he readily perceived their object, and in order to retard them, projected about the end of May two different enterpriſes into Providence Plantation; one conducted by lieutenant-colonel Campbell of the twenty-ſecond, and the other by major Eyre, of the fifty-fourth regiment, both of which were ſucceſsfully executed. In the firſt, under lieutenant-colonel Campbell, ſeveral houſes at Briſtol and Warren, filled with military and naval ſtores, ſome gallies and armed ſloops, and one hundred and twenty-five boats, many of them fifty feet long, which had been collected or built on the Hickamuct river, for the purpoſe of the invaſion, were burnt and deſtroyed; and eighteen pieces of ordnance, moſt of them of heavy metal, were rendered unſerviceable. And in the laſt expedition under major Eyre, a large quantity of boards, plank, and other materials for ſhip-building, were burnt.

fruſtrated.

Naval operations.

The loſſes ſuſtained by the provincials in theſe expeditions retarded their preparations ſo much, that when the count D'Eſtaing arrived off Rhode Iſland they were not in readineſs for co-operation; and for the preſent he contented himſelf with ſtationing two of his frigates in the Seaconnet Paſſage on the eaſt, and two of his line-of-battle ſhips in the Narraganſet Paſſage on the weſt ſide of the iſland, to interrupt the communications of the garriſon, whilſt, with the remainder of his fleet, he anchored off Brenton's Ledge, at the ſouth-eaſt end of the iſland, in a ſituation open to the ſea. In this poſition he remained until the eighth of Auguſt, when, every thing being in

Auguſt.

in readineſs on the part of the provincials, he entered the harbour with his fleet, receiving and returning the fire from ſeveral batteries as he paſſed them, and came to an anchor between Newport and Conanicut. Upon the firſt appearance of the French fleet at Rhode Iſland, a diſpatch-boat was ſent to New York with intelligence of this; and on the ſixth of Auguſt lord Howe, after being detained for four days by contrary winds, put to ſea with the Britiſh fleet, which was now increaſed to eight line-of-battle ſhips, five ſhips of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, and four frigates, with three fire-ſhips, two bombs, and a number of ſmaller veſſels. With this force his lordſhip appeared in ſight of Rhode Iſland on the morning of the ninth of Auguſt, and after having communicated with the garriſon, and informed himſelf exactly of the ſituation of the French fleet, came to an anchor the ſame evening off Point Judith, which forms the entrance on the ſouth-weſt ſide into the great bay, or baſon of water which encompaſſes Rhode Iſland, and the other ſmaller iſlands adjacent. If any advantage could have been gained by finding the count D'Eſtaing in a confined ſituation, where his large ſhips could not act with freedom, and where they were alſo liable to be annoyed by the batteries from the ſhore, it was loſt by the Britiſh admiral's coming to an anchor ſo far to the ſouthward, and at ſuch a diſtance from the mouth of the harbour: For on the following morning, the wind having changed to the north-eaſt, the French admiral embraced this opportunity of ſailing out of the harbour, with all his ſhips, and forming them in order of battle as they came out, bore down upon the Britiſh fleet. The Britiſh admiral, for the preſent, thought it prudent to decline an engagement, and ranging his ſhips in order of battle, ſtood to the ſouthward, in the hope that a ſhift of wind might enable him to gain the weather-gage. Thus arranged, and thus relatively ſituated, the two fleets continued in ſight of each other for two days; when the Britiſh admiral,

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admiral, deſpairing of a change of wind, and having failed in his endeavours to gain the weather-gage, now waited, to leeward, the approach of the enemy, with a determination to engage; but, about this time, the wind freſhening into a tremendous ſtorm, not only parted the two fleets from each other, but ſeparated and diſperſed the individual ſhips of each ſquadron. The Britiſh admiral, in the Apollo frigate, to which ſhip he had ſhifted his flag from the Eagle, that he might be the better enabled to direct the operations of his fleet when in proſpect of an engagement, on the day on which the ſtorm began, now, when the weather cleared up, found himſelf left with only ſix ſhips; and the Apollo having ſuſtained ſo much damage in the ſtorm as rendered it neceſſary to ſend her immediately into port, he again ſhifted his flag to one of the other ſhips, to endeavour to collect his ſcattered fleet: But having in vain looked out for them for ſeveral days, he at length directed his courſe for Sandy Hook, which he reached on the ſeventeenth, and there found the reſt of his ſquadron already at anchor. In his paſſage thither, the Britiſh admiral narrowly eſcaped the French fleet, having come in ſight of ten of their ſhips, ſome of them at anchor in the ſea, about twenty-five leagues to the eaſtward of Cape May.

The ſeparation and diſperſion of the two fleets gave occaſion to the accidental meeting of ſingle ſhips, and produced engagements between them, which terminated ſo much to the honour of Britiſh valour and ſeamanſhip, as to excite deep regret, that, after the Britiſh admiral had at laſt determined to engage, the ſtorm ſhould have intervened to prevent the action. In the evening of the thirteenth captain Dawſon, in the Renown, of fifty guns, fell in with the French admiral's ſhip, the Languedoc, of eighty-four guns, diſmaſted; and notwithſtanding her great ſuperiority of force, reſolutely aſſailed her with apparent advantage, until darkneſs put an end to the engagement, which would have been renewed the following morning, had not the appearance of ſix other ſhips of the enemy's fleet obliged the brave captain Dawſon to deſiſt. The ſame evening, a ſimilar engagement happened between the Preſton of fifty guns, commanded by commodore Hotham, and the Tonant, a French ſhip of eighty guns, with her main-maſt only ſtanding, the reſt being carried away in the ſtorm. The event of this engagement was ſimilar to that of the former: It was bravely begun and ſuſtained by commodore Hotham, till darkneſs put an end to it in the evening, and it could not be renewed in the morning, becauſe of the appearance of the reſt of the French fleet. But the laſt of the engagements, produced by this untoward occurrence, of ſhips of diſproportionate force, puts all naval calculation from weight of metal at utter defiance, and gives the palm to undaunted bravery and ſuperior ſkill and ſeamanſhip. In the afternoon of the ſixteenth of Auguſt the Iſis, a ſhip alſo of fifty guns, commanded by captain Raynor, fell in with the Cæſar, a French ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, not diſmaſted nor injured by the ſtorm, but capable of chaſing, and bravely engaged her for an hour and a half with ſuch advantage, that at the end of this period the French ſhip ſheered off, and putting before the wind, left the Iſis incapable of purſuing from the damage which ſhe had ſuſtained in her maſts, ſails, and rigging. In other reſpects her damage was inconſiderable, and only one man was killed and fifteen wounded: Whereas the French ſhip had been ſo roughly handled, and ſo much injured in her hull, that ſhe was obliged to bear away for the harbour of Boſton to refit; and her killed and wounded amounted to fifty, including in the latter her captain, the celebrated Bougainville, whoſe arm was ſhot away in the action. If we reaſon by analogy, theſe ſpirited actions, thus nobly ſuſtained againſt ſhips of ſuch ſuperior force, can leave no room to doubt that, had the two fleets come to action on the day on which an engagement

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was expected, the event would have proved highly honourable to the Britiſh flag. Of the two fleets, the French appears to have ſuffered the moſt by the ſtorm; but both of them had ſuſtained conſiderable damage. The Britiſh ſhips which were diſabled went into the harbour of New York to refit; and the French admiral, after collecting his ſhattered ſquadron, bore away for the harbour of Boſton, in his paſſage to which he again anchored off Rhode iſland, for the purpoſe of communicating with the provincials, who had effected a landing upon that iſland the day before he ſailed out of the harbour. On this ſecond viſit to Rhode Iſland he remained only one day, when he ſhaped his courſe for Boſton.

As ſoon as lord Howe's ſquadron, which was now further increaſed by the arrival of the Monmouth, one of admiral Byron's fleet, was ſufficiently refitted, he put to ſea with it again, hoping, from the intelligence which he had received of the motions of the French fleet, that he might be able to reach the bay of Boſton before it; but in this hope he was diſappointed. Upon his entering that bay, on the thirtieth of Auguſt, he found the French fleet already in the harbour, and ſo well ſecured by lying within certain points of land, on which batteries had been erected to cover and command the anchorage ground, that all attempts againſt them, in this ſituation, appeared impracticable. Having advanced to the mouth of the harbour, and reconnoitred their poſition, he determined to quit the bay of Boſton, and proceed to the relief of Rhode Iſland; but that iſland being evacuated by the provincials before his arrival, and his aſſiſtance in that quarter no longer being neceſſary, he returned with the fleet to New York, towards the middle of September. During his abſence ſix more ſhips of admiral Byron's ſquadron had arrived at that port; and as, in conſequence of theſe arrivals, the Britiſh naval force in America was now unqueſtionably ſuperior to the fleet under the count D'Eſtaing, and would be ſtill farther increaſed by the arrival

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Lord Howe reſigns the command of the fleet to admiral Gambier.

rival of admiral Byron, in the Princeſs Royal, who was daily expected from Halifax, his lordſhip thought this a proper moment for availing himſelf of the leave which he had ſome time before obtained of retiring from the American ſtation, on account of his health; and, reſigning the command of the fleet to admiral Gambier, took his departure for England.

CHAP. XXIV.

A particular Account of the Progreſs and Iſſue of the American Attempt on Rhode Iſland, already generally mentioned.

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AS our attention hitherto has been occupied in detailing the more momentous operations of the two fleets, and the invaſion of Rhode Iſland by the provincials has only been incidentally mentioned, we ſhall now briefly relate the progreſs and iſſue of that invaſion, which would not have been undertaken but in the proſpect of a co-operation from the count D'Eſtaing, and which was abandoned as ſoon as that proſpect was withdrawn. Previouſly to the arrival of the French fleet, Rhode Iſland was ſufficiently protected againſt an invaſion from the provincials, by the garriſon which was placed in it, and by the frigates and other ſmaller veſſels of war which were ſtationed round it for its ſecurity: and ſoon after the arrival of the French fleet upon the American coaſt, the garriſon was reinforced with five battalions under general Preſcot; for it was foreſeen that, if the French fleet ſhould appear before it, the Britiſh naval force ſtationed there would be rendered ineffective, and the ſecurity of the place muſt, for a time at leaſt, depend chiefly upon the ſtrength of the garriſon. The event juſtified this precaution; for as ſoon as the count D'Eſtaing had detached two of his line-of-battle ſhips into the Narraganſet Paſſage, and as many frigates into the Seaconnet Paſſage, the retreat of ſuch of the Britiſh ſhips as were advanced beyond them was cut off: They could neither put to ſea nor return to the harbour of Newport; and in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the French, were diſmantled and burnt *. Sir Robert Pigott, too, being threatened with a deſcent in ſeveral quarters at the ſame time, was obliged, notwithſtanding his reinforcement, to withdraw his out-poſts, and concentrate his force in an intrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Newport. Thus all the north part of the iſland was neceſſarily left unguarded; and there the provincials, under general Sullivan, ſuppoſed to amount to ten thouſand men, effected a landing on the ninth of Auguſt, the day after the count D'Eſtaing had entered the harbour of Newport. They did not, however, make their appearance before the Britiſh lines till the fourteenth, when, taking poſſeſſion of Honeyman's Hill, they began to conſtruct batteries, form lines of communication, and make regular approaches, which were continued without intermiſſion until the morning of the twenty-ſixth. But the re-appearance of the French fleet, in its ſhattered and diſabled condition after the ſtorm, and its final departure for the harbour of Boſton to refit, threw a fatal damp upon the ſpirits of the men who compoſed general Sullivan's army. Great part of it conſiſted of volunteers: And theſe, diſheartened by the departure of the French fleet, returned home in ſuch numbers, three thouſand of them having gone off in the courſe of one day, that, according to the American accounts, the force which at laſt remained did not greatly exceed that of the Britiſh garriſon. General Sullivan's army being thus weakened by deſertion, he ſaw the impoſſibility of ſucceeding,

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* Britiſh Ships deſtroyed at Rhode Iſland, to prevent them from falling into the Hands of the French:

Juno	32 guns,	burnt.	Cerberus	32 guns,	burnt.
Lark	ditto	ditto.	Falcon	18 guns,	ſunk.
Orpheus	ditto	ditto.	King's Fiſher	16 guns,	burnt.
Flora	ditto	ſunk.			

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ceeding, and took meaſures for effecting a retreat. Orders were diſpatched to repair and ſtrengthen the works in his rear, upon the north part of the iſland, and alſo at Briſtol and Tiverton upon the continent: Such parts of his heavieſt baggage as could be ſpared were ſent off; and every previous preparation that was neceſſary being made, he began his retreat in the night of the twenty-eighth of Auguſt. By evacuating his works in the night, general Sullivan gained a march of ſeveral hours, unperceived by the Britiſh army, and by poſting his light troops on various eminences in his line of march, and leaving them behind him with orders to ſkirmiſh with the Britiſh troops as they advanced, and then retire, he was enabled to make good his retreat with the main body of his army, his artillery and baggage, to a commanding ſituation at the north end of the iſland; which, as we have ſeen, he had previouſly ſtrengthened with ſome additional works, for the purpoſe of covering his retreat. Day-light in the morning of the twenty-ninth diſcovered to ſir Robert Pigott the retreat of the enemy; and a purſuit being inſtantly ordered, the whole day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes, in which the covering parties of the provincials were ſucceſſively driven from the different poſts occupied by them, until they fell back upon the main body of their army, by this time encamped on the advantageous ground already mentioned. Theſe ſkirmiſhes were terminated by a ſharp action in front of the American encampment, obſtinately maintained for half an hour, at the end of which the troops engaged on both ſides were withdrawn. The loſs of the provincials in killed, wounded, and miſſing, during the various engagements of this day, amounted to two hundred and eleven men, including officers; and ſo obſtinately did they diſpute the ground with their purſuers, that the loſs of the Britiſh troops was not much inferior. The latter were now, in their turn, become the aſſailants, and during the following day preparations were made for attacking the provincials in their encampment; but, in the evening of that day, general Sullivan, after having purpoſely exhibited every appearance of an intention to maintain his ground, ſilently ſtruck his tents as ſoon as it was dark, and withdrew his troops unperceived; which, with the help of the numerous boats that attended upon him, were, in a few hours, tranſported acroſs the channel to the continent. His artillery and baggage had been paſſed over during the preceding day.

Fortunately for the provincials, ſir Henry Clinton, who was haſtening with four thouſand men to the relief of Rhode Iſland, was detained for ſome days by contrary winds in his paſſage through the Sound, otherwiſe the retreat of general Sullivan and his army would in all probability have been cut off. Even after all the delays which occurred, ſir Henry Clinton arrived at Rhode Iſland the day after it was evacuated.

CHAP. XXV.

Diſcontents and Clamours in the American States—Riots between the American and French Seamen at Boſton—and at Charleſtown, South Carolina—Expedition to Buzzard's Bay—Expeditions againſt Little Egg Harbour, a noted Rendezvous for Privateers—The Weather this Summer uncommonly boiſterous in the Atlantic Ocean—Diſperſion and Fate of the Fleet under Admiral Byron—The Admiral ſtruggles in vain againſt adverſe Fortune—The Count D'Eſtaing ſets ſail to the Weſt Indies.

CHAP. XXV. 1778. Diſcontents and clamours in the American ſtates.

THE total failure of the expedition againſt Rhode Iſland occaſioned great murmuring throughout the American continent, particularly amongſt the inhabitants of the northern ſtates, who were moſt intereſted, and had in a more eſpecial manner exerted themſelves to promote its ſucceſs. In theſe ſtates the clamours of the people were loud againſt the count D'Eſtaing, for deſerting them in the midſt of an expedition which he knew was undertaken only in conſequence of his promiſe of co-operation. Theſe murmurings the governing powers prudently endeavoured to ſuppreſs, that they might not give offence to their new allies; but they were nevertheleſs, in part, the

Riots between the American and French ſeamen at Boſton; and at Charleſtown, South Carolina.

cauſe of a dangerous riot that happened at Boſton, between the American and French ſeamen; in which ſeveral of the latter were ſeverely wounded. Nearly about the ſame time, too, a ſimilar riot happened at Charleſtown, in South Carolina, between the ſame claſſes of people, but more fatal in the effects, as ſome lives on both ſides were loſt. Indeed, the manners of the people were yet ſo little aſſimilated, that a cordial agreement could ſcarcely be expected. At both thoſe places, however, means were fallen upon to appeaſe the tumults, and great pains were taken to give ſatisfaction to the French, whom, at this early ſtage of the connexion, it would have been highly imprudent to diſguſt.

Sir Henry Clinton, having been diſappointed in cutting off the retreat of the provincials from Rhode Iſland, returned with the fleet of tranſports towards New York, as far as New London; at which place he propoſed making a deſcent, for the purpoſe of deſtroying a number of privateers, which, rendezvouſing at this port, greatly infeſted that part of the trade to New York which paſſed through the Sound. But as he approached the mouth of the river which, paſſing by New London, empties itſelf into the Sound, the wind became unfavourable, and prevented the fleet from entering: And as the appearance of the weather indicated a continuance of the ſame unfavourable wind, the commander in chief here left the fleet, and continued his paſſage to New York, having firſt given orders to major-general, now ſir Charles Grey, upon whom the command of the troops on board the tranſports now devolved, to proceed to the eaſtward upon a ſimilar expedition in Buzzard's Bay.

Expedition under general Grey to Buzzard's Bay.

The object of this expedition was to deſtroy the privateers upon the Acuſhnet river in Plymouth county in New England, together with a number of prizes which they had lately taken; and never was a ſervice more effectually performed. The fleet of tranſports having proceeded to the eaſtward with a fair wind, landed the troops on the banks of the Acuſhnet river at ſix in the evening of the fifth of September. And ſuch was the rapidity of the execution, that by noon of the next day they were all re-embarked, having, in the mean time, burnt and deſtroyed all the ſhips in the whole extent of the river, amounting to more than ſeventy ſail. They alſo burnt at Bedford and

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and Fairhaven, the one of theſe towns ſituated on the weſt, and the other on the eaſt ſide of the river, a number of ſtorehouſes filled with proviſions, merchandiſe, naval and warlike ſtores, and the cargoes of the prize-ſhips, with ſeveral wharfs, and two large rope-walks. They alſo diſmantled and burnt, on the eaſt ſide of the river, an incloſed fort mounting eleven pieces of heavy cannon, with a magazine, and barracks for two hundred men *: This ſervice being performed with the loſs of only one man killed, four wounded, and ſixteen miſſing, in exchange for whom ſixteen perſons were brought from Bedford. The troops being re-embarked, the fleet proceeded to the iſland called Martha's Vineyard, where they alſo took or burnt ſeveral veſſels, deſtroyed a ſalt-work, and obliged the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and furniſh a contribution of ten thouſand ſheep, and three hundred oxen; and with this ſeaſonable ſupply of proviſions the fleet returned to New York †.

Another

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* Veſſels, Stores, &c. deſtroyed on Acuſhnet River, the 5th of September 1778, by the Troops under Major General Grey.

8 ſail of large ſhips, from 200 to 300 tons burden, moſt of them prizes.

6 armed veſſels, from 10 to 16 guns.

A number of ſloops and ſchooners, amounting in all to 70, beſides whale-boats and others.

26 ſtore-houſes at Bedford, and ſeveral at M'Pherſon's Wharf, Cran's Mills, and Fairhaven, filled with rum, ſugar, melaſſes, coffee, tobacco, cotton, tea, medicines, gunpowder, ſail-cloth, cordage, &c.

Two large rope walks.

13 pieces of ordnance deſtroyed at the fort, the magazine blown up, and the platform and barracks for 200 men burnt.

† Veſſels, Stores, &c. taken or deſtroyed by the Troops under Major General Grey, at Falmouth, in the Vineyard Sound, and at the Iſland of Martha's Vineyard.

At Falmouth, 2 ſloops and a ſchooner taken, and one ſloop burnt.

At Martha's Vineyard, one brig of 150 tons, and one ſchooner of 70 tons burden, burnt; and four other veſſels with 23 whale-boats, taken or deſtroyed.

A ſalt-work deſtroyed, and a conſiderable quantity of ſalt taken.

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Expeditions againſt Little Egg Harbour, a noted rendezvous for privateers.

Another expedition was ſoon afterwards planned againſt Little Egg Harbour, on the eaſt coaſt of New Jerſey, which was alſo a noted rendezvous for privateers. The vicinity of this, otherwiſe inſignificant, little port, to that tract of the ſea through which veſſels uſually paſs either in entering or coming from the harbour of New York to the ſouthward, rendered it a moſt convenient ſituation for annoying the trade of that place; and on that account the expedition againſt it became an object of ſome conſideration. To favour the ſucceſs of this, as well as to procure forage, and open the country on both ſides of the North River, for the admiſſion of proviſions, the army was put in motion. The firſt diviſion, under lord Cornwallis, advancing on the weſt ſide of the North River into the country of New Jerſey, took a poſition between that river and New-Bridge, on the Hackinſack, the right of this diviſion extending to the North River, and the left to the Hackinſack; whilſt general Knyphauſen, with the other diviſion of the army, took a parallel poſition on the eaſt ſide of the North River, his left reaching to that river at Wepperham, and his right to the Brunx. From the relative ſituations of the two diviſions ſeparated from each other only by the North River, the whole, by means of the flat-bottomed boats, could have been aſſembled on either ſide of the river in leſs than twenty-four hours; whereas general Waſhington, from not having the command of that river, could not have aſſembled his troops in leſs than ten days. Senſible of theſe diſadvantages, and probably foreſeeing that this advanced poſition of the Britiſh army was only a temporary movement, he did not attempt to draw his

388 ſtand of arms taken, with bayonets, pouches, flints, ſome gunpowder, and a quantity of lead.

300 oxen, and 10,000 ſheep.

1000l. ſterling in paper, the amount of a tax collected in Martha's Vineyard by the authority of the congreſs, was received of the collector.

troops together, but ſent forward detachments to interrupt and confine as much as poſſible the operations of the Britiſh foragers. One of theſe detachments was in front of lord Cornwallis's diviſion, and occupied the villages of Old and New Taapan; a regiment of light-horſe, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Baylor, being quartered at the firſt of theſe places, and a body of militia at the other. Intelligence of their poſition having been received, a plan was laid by lord Cornwallis for cutting them off. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and the queen's rangers from general Knyphauſen's diviſion, was to paſs the North River, and attack the provincials at New Taapan, whilſt another column from lord Cornwallis's diviſion, led by major-general Grey, ſhould advance on the left, and attack thoſe at Old Taapan. By ſome delay which occurred in tranſporting lieutenant-colonel Campbell's column acroſs the North River, the boats not having arrived in time, and by the intelligence carried to the enemy by ſome deſerters from this column, the provincials at New Taapan were alarmed in time to make their eſcape. But the village of Old Taapan was ſo completely ſurrounded in the night by the left column, under major-general Grey, whoſe prompt execution and unrivalled ſucceſs in enterpriſes of this nature had been the terror of the provincials ever ſince the ſurpriſe of general Wayne, that very few of the regiment which was quartered in it were able to make their eſcape. The greateſt part either fell victims to the carnage incident to the confuſion and uncertainty of a nightly attack; or were fortunate to be made priſoners; and amongſt the latter was their commander, dangerouſly wounded. The regiment was entirely ruined; and the ſuddenneſs and ſeverity of this nightly enterpriſe ſtruck ſuch terror into the provincials that the Britiſh foragers were not afterwards interrupted.

In the mean time, the ſquadron deſtined for Little Egg Harbour, ſailed from New York under the direction of captain Collins of the

Zebra. This little ſquadron conſiſted of the Zebra, Vigilant, Nautilus, ſome gallies, ſmall armed veſſels, and tranſports. On board the tranſports were embarked three hundred troops from the fifth regiment, and the New Jerſey volunteers, the whole under the command of captain Patrick Ferguſon, of the ſeventieth regiment, an active, zealous, and able officer, who, in this expedition, was entruſted with the conduct of the land ſervice. Although this ſquadron left New York on the thirtieth of September, it did not arrive off Little Egg Harbour till the fifth of October in the evening, on account of contrary winds; and in the mean time the country had been alarmed by receiving intelligence of the place of its deſtination; which gave an opportunity to four privateers to put to ſea and make their eſcape, whilſt the other veſſels were carried up the river, as far as their draught of water would permit. As the commanders of this expedition learnt on their arrival at Little Egg Harbour that the country had been already alarmed, they determined to loſe no farther time in carrying it into execution. On the morning of the ſixth, the wind ſtill preventing the tranſports from entering the harbour, the troops were embarked on board the ſmaller veſſels, which, with the row-gallies, proceeded about twenty miles up the river to a place called Cheſnut Neck, where were ſeveral veſſels, and a ſmall village with ſtore-houſes, for the reception of prize-goods. Here the provincials had erected two batteries; one level with the water, and the other upon a commanding eminence; but neither of them yet mounted with artillery. Behind theſe batteries, and a breaſt-work which they had alſo thrown up, they at firſt made a formidable ſhew of reſiſtance; but as ſoon as the troops were landed under cover of the row-gallies, fled. The batteries, with the houſes and ſtores, were immediately demoliſhed by the troops, whilſt the ſeamen ſet on fire and burnt ten large prize ſhips, which in conſequence of the previous alarm had been ſkuttled by the provincials, and could not be brought off. It had been propoſed to penetrate by the ſame river as far as a place called the Forks, the grand depot for prize-goods, within thirty-five miles of Philadelphia; but information was now received that the militia in that part of the country were reinforced by a detachment of foot, a ſmall train of artillery, and a corps of light-horſe; and as, from the ſhallowneſs of the navigation, the troops could not be farther accompanied by the row-gallies, it was determined to abandon this part of the enterpriſe as impracticable. The troops were accordingly re-embarked, and proceeded down the river. In their paſſage they were twice landed, and deſtroyed three ſalt-works, and ſome houſes and ſtores belonging to perſons either concerned in fitting out privateers, or whoſe activity in the cauſe of America, and unrelenting perſecution of the loyaliſts, marked them out as proper objects of vengeance. After the gallies and ſmaller veſſels had joined the ſquadron in the harbour, they were prevented from putting to ſea for ſome days by contrary winds; and during this interval an officer and ſome privates, deſerters from Pulaſki's American legion, having come on board, gave ſuch an account of the poſition of that corps, lying only at the diſtance of twelve miles up the river, as ſuggeſted to the active and enterpriſing mind of captain Ferguſon the probability of ſurpriſing it. Pulaſki's corps, conſiſting of three companies of foot, three troops of horſe, and a detachment of artillery, with one braſs field-piece, was quartered about a mile beyond a bridge, which captain Ferguſon propoſed to ſeize, for the purpoſe of ſecuring his retreat: And two miles beyond Pulaſki's corps, lay a provincial colonel with a detachment of artillery, ſome field-pieces, and the militia of the country. Captain Ferguſon having minutely informed himſelf of their ſituation, communicated his ideas to captain Collins; and it was agreed that the attempt ſhould be made. At eleven at night, two hundred and fifty troops were embarked in the boats, which, rowing ten miles up the river, landed them at four in the morning. The bridge being immediately ſecured, and left under the guard of fifty men, the reſt of the detachment puſhed forward, and ſurrounding the quarters of Pulaſki's infantry, cut them to pieces. Very few eſcaped, and only five were made priſoners. The Americans themſelves numbered fifty that were ſlain, and amongſt theſe three officers; one of whom was of rank; the baron de Boſe, a lieutenant-colonel. As this ſurpriſe was effected within two miles of a force ſuperior in number to the aſſailants, not only celerity of execution, but an immediate retreat, became neceſſary, which, in conſequence of the bridge having been previouſly ſecured, was made with eaſe and ſafety. The troops were re-embarked without any other loſs than two men miſſing, and one officer and two privates wounded; and as ſoon as the wind proved favourable the ſquadron returned to New York.

The ſurpriſe of Baylor's dragoons at Old Taapan, and that of Pulaſki's legion near Little Egg Harbour, both of which happened nearly about the ſame time, gave freſh occaſion to the Americans to pour forth much virulent invective againſt the cruelty of the Britiſh troops. But whilſt we admit the ſeverity of the execution on both theſe occaſions, candour requires us to add, that as both thoſe attacks were made by ſurpriſe, and both in the night, and as the ſucceſs of a ſurpriſe depends in a great meaſure upon celerity of execution, it is impoſſible, under ſuch circumſtances, for a commander, however humane, to prevent carnage. In the laſt of theſe enterpriſes, it is alſo to be remarked, that captain Ferguſon's ſoldiers were highly irritated by intelligence immediately before received from the deſerters, that count Pulaſki had given it out in public orders to his legion, no longer to grant quarter to the Britiſh troops. This intelligence afterwards appeared to be falſe; but in the mean time captain Ferguſon's ſoldiers acted under the impreſſion that it was true; and to his honour it is to be related, that although he did not ſcreen the guilty, he was careful to ſpare the innocent. The dwelling of a perſecuting committee-man he razed to the ground, but ſaved from the flames the houſe of a peaceable, inoffenſive Quaker, although it contained part of the baggage and equipage of Pulaſki's legion, which it was an object to deſtroy, and which he had not time to deſtroy in any other way than by ſetting fire to the houſe; but the houſe, belonging to a peaceable man, was ſaved, and with it the baggage.

Before the ſquadron from Little Egg Harbour returned to New York, the Britiſh army was withdrawn from its forward poſition; and in this quarter nothing material was undertaken or atchieved on either ſide during the remainder of the ſeaſon.

The weather this ſummer uncommonly tempeſtuous in the Atlantic ocean.

The weather, throughout the whole of this ſummer, appears to have been uncommonly boiſterous in the Atlantic ocean. From this cauſe admiral Byron's fleet, which ſailed from England on the ninth of June, to counteract the deſigns of count D'Eſtaing on the American coaſt, was not only delayed in its paſſage, but was at length, on the third of July, diſperſed and ſeparated by a ſtorm. Some of the ſhips arrived ſingly at New York, in the manner we have already ſeen; and ſix of them, under admiral Parker, having been fortunate enough to keep together, reached that port on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt. But admiral Byron himſelf, in the Princeſs Royal, which ſhip was at laſt left alone, after having made good his paſſage within thirty leagues of Sandy Hook, came in ſight of twelve ſhips, on the eighteenth of Auguſt, about ten miles to leeward of him, which, from their ſignals, he at length diſcovered to be the French fleet; and as theſe ſhips from their ſituation equally obſtructed his courſe to New York or to Rhode Iſland, he was obliged, by a neceſſity of refitting, to bear away for Halifax; where he arrived on the twenty-ſixth of that month, and found the Culloden, another of his fleet, already in the harbour. Both theſe ſhhips being refitted with the utmoſt

Diſperſion and fate of the fleet under admiral Byron.

utmoſt diſpatch, he ſailed again on the fourth of September, and arrived at New York about the middle of that month. The ſhips of his ſquadron which arrived there before him were ſo ſhattered and torn to pieces in the different ſtorms they had encountered, that with all the diſpatch that could be uſed they were not in readineſs to proceed to ſea till the eighteenth of October. On that day the admiral ſailed again in queſt of the count D'Eſtaing, but his ill fortune ſtill continued to perſecute him. Scarcely had he reached the bay of Boſton, when, on the firſt of November, another tremendous ſtorm aroſe, drove his ſhips out to ſea, and ſo diſabled them that he was obliged to return to Rhode Iſland to refit, and leave the bay of Boſton unguarded. The count D'Eſtaing, whoſe ſhips were by this time completely refitted, embraced the favourable opportunity of putting to ſea, which the departure of the Britiſh fleet had given him; and leaving the harbour of Boſton on the third of November directed his courſe to the Weſt-Indies.

The admiral ſtruggles in vain againſt adverſe fortune.

The count D'Eſtaing ſets ſail to the Weſt Indies.

CHAP. XXVI.

Expedition to the Weſt Indies under the Command of General Grant —The Britiſh Commiſſioners return to England—Review of their Proceedings—Expedition againſt Georgia—Reduction of Savannah.

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THE ſeaſon for active operation between the two grand armies being now over, and no greater force being neceſſary to be kept at New York, during the winter, than would be ſufficient for the defence of the different poſts occupied by the Britiſh troops; as ſoon as admiral Byron had ſailed from thence for the bay of Boſton, a detachment of five thouſand troops was put under orders for embarkation, to proceed to the Weſt Indies, under the command of general Grant. This force ſailed from Sandy Hook on the third of November. The tranſports were eſcorted by a ſquadron of ſix ſhips of war, under the command of commodore Hotham. Towards the end of the ſame month another embarkation took place, the object of which was the reduction of the province of Georgia. The troops ſent on this ſervice were commanded by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and the naval force by commodore Hyde Parker.

Expedition to the Weſt Indies under the command of general Grant.

About the time of the laſt of theſe embarkations the Britiſh commiſſioners took a final leave of America, and ſailed for England. We ſhall here, therefore, interrupt the thread of hoſtile detail, for the ſake of giving a ſummary account of their proceedings ſubſequent to the anſwer of congreſs to their firſt application. In that

The Britiſh commiſſioners return to England.

anſwer, the congreſs, as a preliminary to all negotiation, had required either an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of America, or elſe that the Britiſh fleets and armies ſhould be withdrawn: And even then they confined the extent of the negotiation to ſuch an agreement as ſhould not be inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting between them and foreign powers. Although the Britiſh commiſſioners, after receiving this anſwer, muſt have been convinced that all farther attempts at negotiation with the congreſs muſt be fruitleſs, they nevertheleſs thought it neceſſary to reply, that it might clearly appear to the world not to be owing to any backwardneſs in them, if the negotiation ſhould not ſucceed. In this reply, dated at New York the eleventh of July, they rejected the laſt of the two alternative preliminaries, which regarded the withdrawing of the Britiſh fleets and armies, as entirely inadmiſſible; not only for the ſake of guarding againſt the deſigns of the natural enemy of Great Britain, but for the ſafety of thoſe who, in America, had taken an active part in favour of the mother-country: And, with reſpect to the firſt of the alternatives, they declared, that if the congreſs, by the independence of America, meant no more than the entire privilege of the people of that continent to diſpoſe of their own property and to govern themſelves without any reference to Great Britain beyond what is neceſſary to preſerve an union of force for the ſafety of the whole empire, ſuch an independence had been already acknowledged in the firſt letter from the commiſſioners. They alſo reminded the congreſs that they had furniſhed that aſſembly with a copy of the powers under which they acted, and as a reciprocal mark of confidence they expected that the congreſs would make known to them the powers with which they were entruſted by their conſtituents to contract alliances with foreign powers; and, as theſe alliances were to have an influence on the negotiation, ſo they alſo expected copies of the treaties on which they were founded. But the congreſs took no further notice of this ſecond letter of the commiſſioners, than

Review of their proceedings.

barely

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barely to enter a reſolution upon their journals, importing that no anſwer ſhould be given to it; as neither of the preliminary conditions upon which alone a negotiation could commence, had been yet complied with.

General Burgoyne's army being ſtill retained in captivity, in direct violation of the convention under which it had ſurrendered, a remonſtrance on this ſubject, bearing date the ſeventh of Auguſt, was the next paper addreſſed to the congreſs by the Britiſh commiſſioners. In this remonſtrance they complained with ſome ſeverity of the detention of thoſe troops, demanded a free entrance for tranſports into the harbour of Boſton to tranſport them to Great Britain, according to the terms of the convention; and, to remove every poſſible difficulty, offered to renew and ratify on the part of Great Britain every article of that convention, more eſpecially the article by which the troops were bound not to ſerve againſt America during the war; and to this repreſentation they demanded a ſpeedy, direct, and explicit anſwer. But the congreſs, inſtead of returning a direct anſwer, tranſmitted to them a remonſtrance on the conduct of governor Johnſtone, one of the commiſſioners, in which he was charged with attempting to bribe and corrupt ſome of their members: And this remonſtrance was accompanied with a declaration that it was incompatible with the honour of congreſs to hold any farther communication or intercourſe with governor Johnſtone, more eſpecially upon affairs in which the cauſe of liberty and virtue was intereſted.

This charge was founded on letters written by governor Johnſtone to individual members of congreſs *, with ſome of whom he was per-

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* In conſequence of an order of congreſs, that all letters received by members of that body, or their agents, from any ſubject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, ſhould be laid before them, the following letters were laid on the table from governor Johnſtone:

To Francis Dana, *Eſq. (Private.)*

" Dear Sir,

" It gives me great pleaſure to find your name among the liſt of congreſs, becauſe I am perſonally acquainted, and for others had received letters of introduction from their friends in England. Governor Johnſtone had not only

perſuaded, from perſonal knowledge of me, and my family and connexions, you can entertain no jealouſy that I would engage in the execution of any commiſſion that was inamicable to the rights and privileges of America, or the general liberties of mankind; while, on the other hand, your character muſt be ſo well known, that no man will ſuſpect you will yield any point that is contrary to the real intereſt of your country; and therefore it will be preſumed we will loſe no opportunity, from falſe punctilio, of meeting to diſcuſs our differences fairly, and that, if we do agree, it will be on the moſt liberal, and therefore the moſt laſting terms of union. There are three facts I wiſh to aſſure you of. Firſt, That Dr. Franklin, on the 28th of March laſt, in diſcuſſing the ſeveral articles we wiſh to make the baſis of our treaty, was perfectly ſatisfied they were beneficial to North America, and ſuch as ſhe ſhould accept. Second, That this treaty with France was not the firſt treaty that France had *exacted*, and with which Mr. Simeon Deane had put to ſea, but granted and acceded to after the ſentiments of the people of Great Britain had fully changed, after the friends to America had gained their points for reconciliation, and ſolely with a view to diſappoint the good effects of our endeavours. You will be pleaſed to hear the pamphlet wrote by Mr. Pulteney was a great means of opening the minds of the people of England to the real ſtate of the queſtion between us, and that it has run through thirteen editions. The third fact is, That Spain, unaſked, had ſent a formal meſſage, diſapproving of the conduct of France. All theſe I will engage to prove to your ſatisfaction. I beg to recommend to your perſonal civilities, my friend, Dr. Ferguſon. He is a man of the greateſt genius and virtue, and has always been a ſteady friend to America. Private. . . . .

" If you follow the example of Britain in the hour of her privilege, inſolence, and madneſs, and refuſe to hear us, I ſtill expect, ſince I am here, to have the privilege of coming among you, and ſeeing the country, as there are many men, whoſe virtues I admire above Greek and Roman names, that I ſhould be glad to tell my children about.

" I am, with eſteem and affection, dear Sir,

" Your friend and ſervant,

Philadelphia, June 10, 1778. " GEO. JOHNSTONE."

To General JOSEPH REED.

" SIR,

" YOUR near and worthy relation, Mr. Dennis de Berdt, has made me happy by favouring me with a letter to you. I have been informed by general Robertſon of your great worth and conſequence in the unhappy diſputes that have ſubſiſted between Great Britain and her

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only been an uniform but a ſtrenuous advocate in the Britiſh parliament for the rights originally claimed by the Americans; and there-

her deſcendants. Your pen and your ſword have both been uſed with glory and advantage in vindicating the rights of mankind, and of that community of which you was a part. Such a conduct, as the firſt and ſuperior of all human duties, muſt ever command my warmeſt friendſhip and veneration.

“ In the midſt of thoſe affecting ſcenes, my feeble voice has not been wanting to ſtop the evils in their progreſs, and to remove, on a large and liberal footing, the cauſe of all jealouſy;—that every ſubject of the empire might live equally free and ſecure in the enjoyment of the bleſſings of life;—not one part dependant on the will of another with oppoſite intereſts, but a general union on terms of perfect ſecurity and mutual advantage.

“ During the conteſt, I am free to confeſs, my wiſhes have ever been, that America might ſo far prevail as to oblige this country to ſee their error, and to reflect and reaſon fairly in the caſe of others, heirs to the ſame privileges with themſelves. It has pleaſed God in his juſtice ſo to diſpoſe of events, that this kingdom is at length convinced of her folly and her faults. A commiſſion under parliamentary authority is now iſſued for ſettling in a manner conſiſtent with that union of force on which the ſafety of both parties depends, all the differences that have or can ſubſiſt between Great Britain and America, ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſts. In this commiſſion I am an unworthy aſſociate. Though no man can feel the deſire of cementing in peace and friendſhip every member of what was called the Britiſh empire, ſtronger than myſelf; yet I am ſenſible that it might have fallen to the lot of many perſons better qualified to attain the end propoſed. All I can claim is ardent zeal and upright intentions; and when I reflect that this negotiation muſt depend much more upon perfect integrity than refinement of underſtanding, where a ſenſible, magnanimous people will ſee their own intereſt, and carefully guard their honour in every tranſaction, I am more inclined to hope, from the good-will I have always borne them, I am not altogether unqualified for the taſk.

“ If it be (as I hope it is) the diſpoſition of good men in the provinces to prefer freedom, in conjunction with Great Britain, to an union with the ancient enemy of both; if it is their generous inclination to forget recent injuries, and recall to their remembrances former benefits, I am in hopes we may yet be great and happy. I am ſure the people in America will find in my brother-commiſſioners, and myſelf, a fair and cheerful concurrence in adjuſting every point to their utmoſt wiſh, not inconſiſtent, as I ſaid before, with a beneficial union of intereſts, which is the object of our commiſſion.

“ Nothing could ſurpaſs the glory you have acquired in arms, except the generous magnanimity of meeting on the terms of juſtice and equality, after demonſtrating to the world that the fear of force could have no juſt influence in that deciſion.

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therefore, probably, thought himſelf entitled to take greater liberties with thoſe whoſe cauſe he had ſo powerfully ſupported, than the

"The man who can be inſtrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and unite together the various powers which this conteſt has drawn forth, will deſerve more from the king and people, from patriotiſm, humanity, friendſhip, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet beſtowed on human kind.

"This letter from Mr. de Berdt I ſhall conſider as an introduction to you, which line of communication I ſhall endeavour by every means to improve, by public demonſtrations of reſpect, or private friendſhip, as your anſwer may enable me.

"I am, with great reſpect, Sir,

"Your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

London, April 11, 1778. "GEO. JOHNSTONE."

To ROBERT MORRIS, *Eſq.* (*Private.*)

"DEAR SIR, *Philadelphia, June* 16, 1778.

"I CAME to this country in a ſincere belief that a reconciliation between Great Britain and America could be eſtabliſhed on terms honourable and beneficial to both. I am perſuaded, and can prove, that the laſt treaty with France ſhould be no bar, and the firſt treaty, if ever you ſaw it, ſhould be an inducement.

"Suppoſing every obſtacle to prevent us from treating removed; we are then to conſider whether the terms propoſed are advantageous. I incloſe you my ſentiments on the ſubject at large; if they concur with yours, we ſhall join in the work with all the prudence, and all the means poſſible and virtuous. I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives. But in all ſuch tranſactions there is riſk, and I think that whoever ventures ſhould be ſecured, at the ſame time that honour and emolument ſhould naturally follow the fortune of thoſe who have ſteered the veſſel in the ſtorm, and brought her ſafely to port. I think that Waſhington and the preſident have a right to every favour that grateful nations can beſtow, if they could once more unite our intereſts, and ſpare the miſeries and devaſtations of war. I wiſh above all things to ſee you, and hope you will ſo contrive it. Do not think Great Britain is ſo low; remember ſhe never can be lower than you were at Trenton. It is the ſame blunderers who produced the war who have conducted it. When the ſenſe of the nation is rouſed, believe me ſhe can make ſtruggles that few have conceived, but which I ſhould be ſorry to ſee exerted on ſuch an occaſion.

"Whatever may be our fate, I ſhall ever retain the ſtricteſt private friendſhip for you and yours; but let me entreat you to recall all thoſe endearing ties to your recollection.

"I am, with affection and eſteem, dear Sir,

"Your obedient ſervant,

"GEO. JOHNSTONE."

other commiſſioners; and being alſo fully of opinion that the privileges now offered to the colonies, which were abundantly ſufficient for ſecuring their liberty, peace, and permanent happineſs, and more extenſive than thoſe originally claimed by themſelves, ought to be thankfully accepted, perhaps he was, for that reaſon, leſs ſcrupulous about the means of inducing acceptance.

Although, in the extracts of the letters which were publiſhed on this occaſion by the congreſs, there was nothing which amounted to the direct offer of a bribe, yet it cannot be denied that general expectations were held out both of honours and rewards, as naturally appertaining to thoſe who ſhould be inſtrumental in cementing the disjointed parts of the empire, and putting an end to the horrors and devaſtations of war. If we ſuppoſe the members of congreſs, to whom theſe letters were addreſſed, to have been actuated by the pure principles of virtue, patriotiſm, and love of their country, ſuch letters, which held out ſelfiſh conſiderations as motives to influence their conduct in a public concern of ſuch magnitude, muſt neceſſarily have been offenſive; and it was probably owing to ſome offended feeling of this ſort that governor Johnſtone's private correſpondence was at firſt diſcloſed, and afterwards became the ſubject of public reprehenſion. Upon the receipt of this complaint and declaration, governor Johnſtone immediately withdrew from the commiſſion, and in the public act executed by him on this occaſion to teſtify his reſolution, which was tranſmitted to the congreſs and bore date the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, he ſeverely recriminated on that aſſembly, and indirectly charged them with laying hold of this pretence to avoid returning an anſwer to the requiſition of the commiſſioners on the ſubject of general Burgoyne's army; in the ſame manner as on a former occaſion they had paſſed reſolutions about the cartouch-boxes of that army, to afford a ſeeming juſtification for breaking through the convention by which it had ſurrendered.

And as he had accepted the office of a commiſſioner only from the deſire of furthering the work of peace and reconciliation, ſo he ſignified to them his determination, that no act done by him ſhould furniſh a pretence for retarding ſo deſirable an end. He therefore declared, that he would take no farther part in any thing that ſhould be done under the commiſſion, reſerving to himſelf, however, the privilege of publiſhing, if he ſhould think fit, a refutation of the aſperſions which the congreſs had attempted to throw upon him. The other commiſſioners at the ſame time tranſmitted a declaration, ſpecifying, that they were utter ſtrangers to the letters, and to the ſeveral things mentioned in the remonſtrance of the congreſs reſpecting governor Johnſtone, until they had ſeen them publiſhed in the newſpapers: That they neither meant to admit the conſtruction put upon thoſe letters by the congreſs, nor to enter into an explanation of governor Johnſtone's conduct, whoſe abilities and integrity required no vindication from them; but that, in juſtice to him and to themſelves, and for the honour of the commiſſion, they thought it neceſſary to declare, that in all the converſations held with him on the ſubject of their miſſion, the principle of his reaſoning ſeemed to be, that the terms which they were empowered to offer to America were calculated to promote and eſtabliſh the liberties, peace, opulence, increaſe, ſecurity, and permanent happineſs of the inhabitants of that continent, and that no other connexion or form of government could be equally conducive to thoſe ends. As the commiſſioners ſeem to have been of opinion that the recent connexion with France was the principal obſtacle which they had to encounter, they embraced this opportunity of adducing in their letter to congreſs ſome new topics of reaſoning to enforce their former communications on that ſubject, and endeavoured to demonſtrate, that the interference of that power was rather from enmity to Great Britain than friendſhip to America, and merely intended to prolong the conteſt, and fruſtrate the effects of the liberal conceſſions made by the mother-country. They concluded by intimating that, in their opinion, the general congreſs, upon the ground of their connexion with France, even if they had been legally authoriſed to enter into it, were not entitled to aſſume ſo deciſive a part as they had taken, without firſt conſulting with their conſtituents, the provincial aſſemblies, and laying before them a ſtate of facts upon which a true judgment might be formed. The commiſſioners, along with this declaration, diſpatched again their former remonſtrance on the detention of the Saratoga troops, ſigned only by the earl of Carliſle, ſir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden: And theſe were the laſt of their papers particularly addreſſed to the congreſs.

The congreſs were probably diſconcerted by the readineſs with which governor Johnſtone withdrew from taking any further part in the execution of the commiſſion. It was obviouſly their wiſh to detain the Saratoga troops as priſoners until they ſhould be redeemed by exchange. It was alſo their intention not to enter upon any negotiation with the Britiſh commiſſioners compatible with their powers, leſt they ſhould give umbrage, or create jealouſy in their new allies: And, to effect both theſe ends, it is probable that they would have willingly laid hold of the pretence of governor Johnſtone's conduct to break off all communication or correſpondence with the Britiſh commiſſioners, more eſpecially as they knew there was ſtill a moderate party in all the colonies, which thought the terms offered by the commiſſioners ſufficiently liberal to be accepted, and viewed with extreme concern and apprehenſion the new connexion formed with France; a kingdom which they had been taught to conſider as proverbially faithleſs. The ſtumbling-block being removed which the congreſs had endeavoured to raiſe in the perſon of governor Johnſtone, they were under a neceſſity, for their own credit, of paying ſome attention to the remonſtrance of the Britiſh commiſſioners on the detention of the convention army; but inſtead of repelling the charges which had been brought againſt them, of having violated the law of nations by infringing a military convention, they again laid hold of a miſerable ſubterfuge, and adhering to a literal interpretation of their former reſolution regarding general Burgoyne's army, they paſſed another, bearing date the fourth of September, as an implied anſwer to the remonſtrance of the commiſſioners, which imported that no ratification of the convention of Saratoga that might be tendered in conſequence of powers which may reach that caſe by conſtruction and implication, or which may ſubject whatever is tranſacted relative to it to the future approbation, or diſapprobation, of the parliament of Great Britain, could be accepted. That this reſolution was evaſive is apparent, when we reflect that it was paſſed without any previous inquiry into the powers under which the commiſſioners offered to renew the convention. For any thing that the congreſs knew, the commiſſioners might have had ſpecial authority delegated to them by the king, for this particular purpoſe, and independent of their general commiſſion. But, to drive that aſſembly from every ſubterfuge, and to remove every previous objection, ſir Henry Clinton, on the nineteenth of September, tranſmitted to them an extract from an inſtruction ſent to him by the ſecretary of ſtate, and received ſince the date of the remonſtrance made by the commiſſioners, by which he was authoriſed, not in implied, but expreſs terms, to demand a performance of the convention made with general Burgoyne, and, if required, to renew and ratify, in the king's name, all the conditions ſtipulated in it. The offer of a ratification now made ſeemed to be of that poſitive and preciſe nature which ſubſtantially removed every previous objection. But the congreſs were not to be ſatisfied; and to fill up the climax of that ſyſtem of evaſion which they had purſued in

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in all their deliberations on this ſubject, they affected to conſider ſir Henry Clinton's letter as deficient in reſpect, from the caſual uſe of an expreſſion of diſapprobation, which, in the warmth of his feelings as a ſoldier, when vindicating the rights of ſoldiers groſsly violated, he had incautiouſly ſuffered to eſcape him; and inſtead of anſwering or complying with the requiſition, directed their ſecretary to write to the Britiſh general, "that congreſs gave no anſwer to "inſolent letters." Thus thoſe brave troops who had ſurrendered at Saratoga, upon the faith of a convention, which ſtipulated for their return to Great Britain, were, by the groſs violation of it, obſtinately perſiſted in by the congreſs, ſtill deſtined to bear all the ills incident to a ſtate of captivity.

The Britiſh commiſſioners, finding all efforts to open a negotiation with the congreſs vain and fruitleſs, at laſt, on the third of October, publiſhed a manifeſto and proclamation, addreſſed not only to the congreſs, but to all the provincial aſſemblies, and to all the inhabitants of the colonies of whatever denomination *, in which they briefly

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* "MANIFESTO AND PROCLAMATION.

"To the Members of the Congreſs, the Members of the General Aſſemblies or Conventions of the ſeveral Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, the three lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and all others, Inhabitants of the ſaid Colonies, of every Rank and Denomination.

"By the Earl of Carliſle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Eſq. Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, in purſuance of an Act of Parliament, made and paſſed in the 18th Year of his Majeſty's Reign, to enable his Majeſty to appoint Commiſſioners to treat, conſult, and agree upon the Means of quieting the Diſorders now ſubſiſting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces in North America.

"HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the congreſs, and having alſo proclaimed to the inhabitants of North America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her colonies, we do not think it conſiſtent either with briefly recapitulated the different ſteps taken by them to accompliſh the object of the commiſſion, and the refuſal of the congreſs even to open a conference with them. They again ſet forth the extent and beneficial

with the duty we owe to our country, or with a juſt regard to the characters we bear, to perſiſt in holding out offers, which, in our eſtimation, required only to be known to be moſt gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties, reſolved to return to England, a few weeks after the date of this manifeſto and proclamation.

"Previous however to this deciſive ſtep, we are led by a juſt anxiety for the great objects of our miſſion, to enlarge on ſome points which may not have been ſufficiently underſtood, to recapitulate to our fellow-ſubjects the bleſſings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued train of evils to which they are at preſent blindly and obſtinately expoſing themſelves.

"To the members of the congreſs then, we again declare, that we are ready to concur in all ſatisfactory and juſt arrangements for ſecuring to them, and their reſpective conſtituents, the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, with the exemption from any impoſition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege conſiſtent with that union of intereſts and force on which our mutual proſperity and the ſafety of our common religion and liberty depend. We again aſſert, that the members of the congreſs were not authoriſed by their conſtitution, either to reject our offers without the previous conſideration and conſent of the ſeveral aſſemblies and conventions of their conſtituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were deluſively framed in the firſt inſtance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this continent. And we once more remind the members of the congreſs, that they are reſponſible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miſeries with which it muſt be attended.

"To the general aſſemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations, and provinces, above mentioned, we now ſeparately make the offers which we originally tranſmitted to the congreſs; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet, expreſly for the purpoſe of conſidering whether every motive, political as well as moral, ſhould not decide their reſolution to embrace the occaſion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great Britain. It has not been, nor is it, our wiſh, to ſeek the objects which we are commiſſioned to purſue, by fomenting popular diviſions and partial cabals; we think ſuch conduct would be ill ſuited to the generous offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the ſtate which makes them. But it is both our wiſh and our duty to encourage and ſupport any men, or bodies of men, in their return of loyalty to our ſovereign, and of affection to our fellow-ſubjects.

"To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we alſo addreſs ourſelves. Such

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beneficial tendency of the terms which they were empowered to offer. Notwithſtanding the obſtructions which they had met with, they ſtill declared their readineſs to proceed in the execution of the powers

of them as are actually in arms, of whatſoever rank or deſcription, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or ſuppoſed, which led them into this rebellion, have been for ever removed, and that the juſt occaſion is arrived for their returning to the claſs of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them ſeek thoſe honours under the banners of their rightful ſovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united Britiſh empire againſt our late mutual and natural enemy.

"To thoſe whoſe profeſſion it is to exerciſe the functions of religion on this continent, it cannot ſurely be unknown, that the foreign power with which the congreſs is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averſe to toleration, and inveterately oppoſed to the intereſts and freedom of the places of worſhip which they ſerve; and that Great Britain, from whom they are for the preſent ſeparated, muſt, both from the principles of her conſtitution, and of proteſtantiſm, be at all times the beſt guardian of religious liberty, and moſt diſpoſed to promote and extend it.

To all thoſe who can eſtimate the bleſſings of peace, and its influence over agriculture, arts, and commerce, who can feel a due anxiety for the education and eſtabliſhment of their children, or who can place a juſt value on domeſtic ſecurity, we think it ſufficient to obſerve, that they are made, by their leaders, to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a juſt object to purſue, or a ſubſiſting grievance which may not inſtantly be redreſſed.

"But if there be any perſons, who, diveſted of miſtaken reſentments, and uninfluenced by ſelfiſh intereſts, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, and that ſo ſeparated they will find a conſtitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their proſperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are empowered and diſpoſed to renew and improve; with ſuch perſons we will not diſpute a poſition which ſeems to be ſufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the charge which the maintaining ſuch a poſition muſt make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war; more eſpecially when to this poſition is added the pretended alliance with the court of France.

"The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to diſtreſs a people ſtill conſidered as our fellow-ſubjects, and to deſolate a country ſhortly to become again a ſource of mutual advantage: But when that country profeſſes the unnatural deſign, not only of eſtranging herſelf from us, but of mortgaging herſelf and her reſources to our enemies, the whole conteſt is changed; and the queſtion is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, deſtroy or render uſeleſs a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France.

"Under

powers contained in their commiſſion, and to treat not only with deputies from all the colonies conjunctly, but with any provincial aſſembly or convention individually, at any time within the ſpace of

"Under ſuch circumſtances, the laws of ſelf-preſervation muſt direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the Britiſh colonies are to become an acceſſion to France, will direct her to render that acceſſion of as little avail as poſſible to her enemy.

"If, however, there are any who think that, notwithſtanding theſe reaſonings, the independence of the colonies will, in the reſult, be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we anſwer, without reſerve, that we neither poſſeſs or expect powers for that purpoſe; and that if Great Britain could ever have ſunk ſo low as to adopt ſuch a meaſure, we ſhould not have thought ourſelves compellable to be the inſtruments in making a conceſſion which would, in our opinion, be calamitous to the colonies for whom it is made, and diſgraceful, as well as calamitous, to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare, that in this ſpirit and ſentiment we have regularly written from this continent to Great Britain.

"It will now become the colonies in general to call to mind their own ſolemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this conteſt, that they took arms only for the redreſs of grievances; and that it would be their wiſh, as well as their intereſt, to remain for ever connected with Great Britain. We again aſk them, whether all their grievances, real or ſuppoſed, have not been amply and fully redreſſed; and we inſiſt that the offers we have made leave nothing to be wiſhed, in point of either immediate liberty or permanent ſecurity: If theſe offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exerciſe of a commiſſion, with which we have in vain been honoured; the ſame liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in juſtice or policy be expected from her.

"In fine, and for the fuller manifeſtation, as well of the diſpoſition we bear, as of the gracious and generous purpoſes of the commiſſion under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his majeſty, in purſuance of an act of parliament, made and paſſed in the eighteenth year of his majeſty's reign, entituled, 'An act to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners, with 'ſufficient powers to treat, conſult, and agree, upon the means of quieting the diſorders now 'ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America,' having been pleaſed to authoriſe and empower us to grant a pardon or pardons to any number or deſcription of perſons within the colonies, plantations, and provinces of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſett's Bay, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, the three lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; and whereas the good effects of the ſaid authorities and powers towards the people at large, would have long ſince taken place, if a due uſe had been made of our firſt communications and overtures, and have thus far been fruſtrated only by the precipitate reſolution of the members of the congreſs not to treat with us, and by their declining to conſult with their conſtituents; we now, in making our appeal to thoſe conſtituents, and to the free inhabitants of forty days from the date of their manifeſto; and then, addreſſing themſelves to perſons of every deſcription, whether in civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical capacities, or in private ſtations, and ſuggeſting

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of this continent in general, have determined to give to them, what in our opinion ſhould have been the firſt object of thoſe who appeared to have taken the management of their intereſts; and adopt this mode of carrying the ſaid authorities and powers into execution. *We accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of, treaſons or miſpriſons of treaſons, by any perſon or perſons, or by any number or deſcription of perſons, within the ſaid colonies, plantations, or provinces, counſelled, commanded, acted, or done, on or before the date of this manifeſto and proclamation.*

" And we farther declare and proclaim, that if any perſon or perſons, or any number or deſcription of perſons, within the ſaid colonies, plantations, and provinces, now actually ſerving either in a civil or military capacity in this rebellion, ſhall, at any time, during the continuance of this manifeſto and proclamation, withdraw himſelf or themſelves from ſuch civil or military ſervice, and ſhall continue thenceforth peaceably as a good and faithful ſubject or ſubjects to his majeſty, to demean himſelf, or themſelves, ſuch perſon or perſons, or ſuch number and deſcription of perſons, ſhall become and be fully entitled to, and hereby obtain all the benefits of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the ſaid pardon or pardons every perſon, and every number or deſcription of perſons, who, after the date of this manifeſto and proclamation, ſhall, under any pretext or authority, as judges, jurymen, miniſters, or officers of civil juſtices, be inſtrumental in executing and putting to death any of his majeſty's ſubjects within the ſaid colonies, plantations, and provinces.

" And we think proper farther to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or ſhall be conſtrued, to ſet at liberty any perſon or perſons, now being a priſoner or priſoners, or who, during the continuance of this rebellion, ſhall become a priſoner or priſoners.

" And we offer to the colonies at large or ſeparately, a general or ſeparate peace, with the revival of their ancient governments ſecured againſt any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain.

" And with reſpect to ſuch further regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wiſh to be framed and eſtabliſhed, we promiſe all the concurrence and aſſiſtance that his majeſty's commiſſion authoriſes and enables us to give.

" And we declare, that this manifeſto and proclamation ſhall continue and be in force forty days from the date thereof, that is to ſay, from the 3d day of October, to the 11th day of November, both incluſive.

" And in order that the whole contents of this manifeſto and proclamation may be more fully known, we ſhall direct copies thereof, both in the Engliſh and German language, to be tranſmitted by flags of truce to the congreſs, the general aſſemblies or conventions of the colonies, plantations, geſting ſeverally to the conſideration of each of theſe claſſes ſuch motives as might be ſuppoſed to have the greateſt influence, adjured them all not to let paſs ſo favourable an opportunity of ſecuring their liberties,

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plantations, and provinces, and to ſeveral perſons both in civil and military capacities within the ſaid colonies, plantations, and provinces; and for the further ſecurity in times to come of the ſeveral perſons, or numbers or deſcriptions of perſons, who are, or may be, the objects of this manifeſto and proclamation, we have ſet our hands and ſeals to thirteen copies thereof, and have tranſmitted the ſame to the thirteen colonies, plantations, and provinces, above mentioned; and we are willing to hope that the whole of this manifeſto and proclamation will be fairly and freely publiſhed and circulated, for the immediate, general, and moſt ſerious conſideration and benefit of all his majeſty's ſubjects on this continent. And we earneſtly exhort all perſons who by this inſtrument forthwith receive the benefit of the king's pardon, at the ſame time that they entertain a becoming ſenſe of thoſe lenient and affectionate meaſures whereby they are now free from grievous charges which might have riſen in judgment, or have been brought in queſtion, againſt them, to make a wiſe improvement of the ſituation in which this manifeſto and proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perſeverance in the preſent rebellion, or any adherence to the treaſonable connexion attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the preſent grace extended, be conſidered as crimes of the moſt aggravated kind; but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to ſecure their own peace, and promote and eſtabliſh the proſperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

“ And purſuant to his majeſty's commiſſion, we hereby require all officers, civil and military, and all other his majeſty's loving ſubjects whatſoever, to be aiding and aſſiſting unto us in the execution of this our manifeſto and proclamation, and of all the matters herein contained.

“ Given at New York, this 3d day of October 1788.

“ (L. S.) CARLISLE.
“ (L. S.) HEN. CLINTON.
“ (L. S.) WM. EDEN.

“ By their Excellencies command,
“ ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary.”

On the thirtieth of October the following Manifeſto was publiſhed by Congreſs:

“ *By the Congreſs of the United States of America.*

“ MANIFESTO.

“ THESE United States having been driven to hoſtilities by the oppreſſive and tyrannous meaſures of Great Britain; having been compelled to commit the eſſential rights of man to the deciſion of arms; and having been at length forced to ſhake off a yoke which had grown too burdenſome to bear, they declared themſelves free and independent.

liberties, and their future proſperity and happineſs, upon a permanent foundation. They alſo proclaimed a general pardon for all treaſons and rebellious practices committed at any time previous to the

"Confiding in the juſtice of their cauſe, confiding in Him who diſpoſes of human events, although weak and unprovided, they ſet the power of their enemies at defiance.

"In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the powers, unſubdued by the barbarity, of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loſs of many things which made life deſirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardſhips and dangers of a ſituation, fruitful in both beyond example.

"The congreſs, conſidering themſelves bound to love their enemies, as children of that Being who is equally the Father of all, and deſirous, ſince they could not prevent, at leaſt to alleviate, the calamities of war, have ſtudied to ſpare thoſe who were in arms againſt them, and to lighten the chains of captivity.

"The conduct of thoſe ſerving under the king of Great Britain hath, with ſome few exceptions, been diametrically oppoſite. They have laid waſte the open country, burned the defenceleſs villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their priſons have been the ſlaughter-houſes of her ſoldiers, their ſhips of her ſeamen, and the ſevereſt injuries have been aggravated by the groſſeſt inſults.

"Foiled in their vain attempt to ſubjugate the unconquerable ſpirit of freedom, they have meanly aſſailed the repreſentatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the ſervility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton deſtruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilſt in the violation of his ſacred commands; they have made a mock even of reaſon itſelf, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happineſs of America could ſafely be entruſted to thoſe who have *ſold their own*, unawed by the ſenſe of virtue or of ſhame.

"Treated with the contempt which ſuch conduct deſerved, they have applied to individuals; they have ſolicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their ſouls with the blackeſt of crimes; but fearing that none could be found through theſe United States, equal to the wickedneſs of their purpoſe, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devaſtation.

"While the ſhadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to reſpect thoſe laws which are held ſacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But ſince their incorrigible diſpoſitions cannot be touched by kindneſs and compaſſion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

"We, therefore, the Congreſs of the United States of America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND the date of their manifeſto, to ſuch as ſhould, within the term of forty days, already limited, withdraw from their oppoſition to the Britiſh government, and conduct themſelves in future as faithful and loyal ſubjects; denouncing at the ſame time the utmoſt vengeance of the Britiſh nation againſt ſuch as, after theſe benevolent offers, ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in withholding their allegiance from their lawful ſovereign. And, that all perſons reſiding within the revolted colonies might be acquainted with the benevolent offers now made, and be enabled to avail themſelves of the pardon proclaimed by the manifeſto, thirteen copies of it were immediately executed under the hands and ſeals of the commiſſioners, one of which was tranſmitted by a flag of truce to each of the colonies.

In the mean time, the congreſs, by a prepoſterous kind of reſolution, recommended it to the executive power in the different ſtates to ſeize and detain in priſon all ſuch perſons as, under a pretence of a flag of truce, ſhould be concerned in diſtributing or delivering the manifeſto of the Britiſh commiſſioners, as violators of the law of nations, by circulating ſeditious writings; whilſt at the ſame time they ordered thoſe ſeditious writings to be publiſhed in the newſpapers. And ſome time afterwards they paſſed another reſolution, threatening to take exemplary vengeance if any one ſhould attempt to put in execution the ſeverities denounced in the manifeſto of the commiſſioners. The commiſſioners remained at New York beyond the time limited by their manifeſto, which expired on the eleventh of November; but

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AND PROCLAIM, That if our enemies preſume to execute their threats, or perſiſt in their preſent career of barbarity, we will take ſuch exemplary vengeance as ſhall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who ſearcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy preſence we declare, That as we are not moved by any light and haſty ſuggeſtions of anger or revenge, ſo through every poſſible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

"Done in congreſs, by unanimous conſent, the thirtieth day of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

"CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."

as they neither received any overtures in conſequence of it, nor ſaw any proſpect of being able to effect a reconciliation, they cloſed their commiſſion, and embarked for England, after having made ſome regulations for the benefit of the trade of New York and Rhode Iſland; the only two places that remained to Great Britain in the whole extent of the revolted colonies.

It was now at laſt ſeen, that all attempts to recover the revolted colonies by lenient means were uſeleſs; and that force alone could again ſubject them to the authority of the mother-country: And the rapid ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Georgia, which we are next to relate, gave a pleaſing hope that the war, if transferred to the ſouthward, might be more ſucceſsful in future, than it had been in times paſt. As the land-force ſent on this expedition conſiſted only of the ſeventy-firſt regiment of two battalions, two battalions of Heſſians, four battalions of North and South Carolina provincials, and a detachment of royal artillery, amounting in the whole to three thouſand five hundred men, major-general Prevoſt, who commanded in Eaſt Florida, the colony next adjoining to Georgia on the ſouth, had previouſly received orders to enter that province by land, with the force under him, and make a junction with lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and take the command of the whole. But ſo ably did the laſt of theſe officers form his plans of attack, and ſo well was he ſupported by the ſpirit and bravery of the little army which he commanded, and the cordial and zealous co-operation of commodore Parker and the naval force, that the reduction of the province was completed before general Prevoſt could form a junction.

The ſquadron which accompanied the tranſports on this expedition, conſiſting of ſome of the ſmaller ſhips of war, arrived off the iſland of Tybee, at the mouth of the Savannah river, on the twenty-third of December.

It ſeems evident that the people of South Carolina and Georgia, apprehending themſelves ſecure againſt an invaſion ever ſince the unfor-

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unfortunate attempt upon Charleſtown, made by ſir Peter Parker and ſir Henry Clinton in the year 1776, were rather occupied in planning and making preparations for the conqueſt of Eaſt Florida, than in providing for their own defence. Between the inhabitants of Eaſt Florida and thoſe of Georgia, a kind of predatory war had been carried on from the time when the laſt of theſe provinces joined the general confederacy; the object of which ſeems to have been ſometimes plunder, and ſometimes revenge. But during the laſt ſummer two incurſions into Georgia were made from Eaſt Florida, which had a more ſerious aſpect. The troops engaged in theſe incurſions conſiſted chiefly of irregulars, moſt of whom had been obliged to fly from the Carolinas and Georgia, on account of their loyalty to their ſovereign, and harboured all the reſentment againſt their perſecutors which can be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the unworthy treatment they had received. One of theſe bodies of men proceeded by the inlets along the ſea-coaſt, whilſt the other marched through the interior parts of the country by the river Alatamaha. The firſt advanced as far as the town of Sunbury in Georgia, the fort of which they ſummoned to ſurrender. A colonel M'Intoſh commanded the garriſon, and was reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. To the ſummons of the beſiegers for the ſurrender of the fort, he returned a defiance in this laconic anſwer: "Come "and take it." The beſiegers being either unprovided with ſufficient artillery, or thinking their force inadequate to the reduction of the fort, abandoned the enterpriſe, and returned towards Eaſt Florida. The other corps of theſe irregulars penetrated through the interior country as far as the river Ogeeche, about thirty miles from Savannah. Here colonel Elben, who with two hundred continental troops had been ſent to oppoſe them, prepared to diſpute their paſſage: And about the ſame time they were informed of the retreat of their companions from Sunbury. Diſheartened with this intelligence,

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gence, and dreading the oppoſition which they were to meet in the paſſage of the river, they ſuddenly decamped and began a retreat. Theſe incurſions into Georgia were followed by another into Eaſt Florida, on the ſide of the provincials. The troops employed in this incurſion conſiſted of ſeveral regiments of continentals, with ſome militia from Georgia and South Carolina, the whole commanded by major-general Robert How. His object was the reduction of St. Auguſtine, with the province of Eaſt Florida: But this expedition proved not more ſucceſsful than thoſe which had been undertaken againſt Georgia; and to the misfortune of the peaceable inhabitants on both ſides, general How's retreat from Eaſt Florida, like that of the Britiſh irregulars from Georgia, was marked with rapine, plunder, and general devaſtation. From this unſucceſsful expedition general How had juſt returned, and lay with his army encamped in the neighbourhood of Savannah, at the time of the arrival of the Britiſh ſquadron from New York.

On the day after its arrival, part of the Britiſh fleet got over the bar, and entered the river; but the reſt, in conſequence of ſoutherly currents and boiſterous weather, were unable to follow until the twenty-ſeventh. In the mean time a company of light-infantry was landed on Wilmington Iſland, to bring off ſome of the inhabitants, and was fortunate enough to ſecure two of them; from whom information was received of the ſtate of the province, and the poſition of the military force appointed for its defence. This was of ſuch a nature as determined the commanders of this expedition, although no intelligence had yet been received of the approach of general Prevoſt, to loſe no time in commencing their operations.

Savannah, the capital of Georgia, lies on the ſouth ſide of the river of that name, about fifteen miles from the ſea. In the vicinity of this place, major-general Robert How, with a force conſiſting of ſome regiments of American regular troops, and the militia of the province, in the whole about fifteen hundred men, was encamped for its protection, and daily expected to be joined by a conſiderable reinforcement. The country between Savannah and the ſea being low and marſhy, and interſected by creeks and cuts of water, the firſt practicable landing-place was at the plantation of one Gerridoe, about twelve miles up the river; and there a deſcent was propoſed to be made without delay.

In purſuance of this determination, the fleet, on the twenty-eighth of December, in the morning, proceeded up the river, led by the Vigilant ſhip of war, the Comet galley, the Keppel armed brig, and the Greenwich armed ſloop, with the deſign of landing the troops at Gerridoe's plantation that evening; but ſeveral of the tranſports having got aground from the difficulty of the navigation, the deſcent was neceſſarily poſtponed till the following morning. With the riſing of the tide, the tranſports being floated off, moved up to their ſtation, and at daybreak of the twenty-ninth the debarkation began. From the landing-place, a narrow cauſeway with a ditch on each ſide led through a rice ſwamp to the high plantation ground, at the diſtance of ſix hundred yards; and captain Cameron, of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, having firſt reached the ſhore with his company of light-infantry, immediately formed them, and advanced along the cauſeway, at the end of which, and upon the high ground, was poſted a body of provincials. Theſe, as captain Cameron approached, received him with a general diſcharge of muſketry; by which this brave officer and two of his company were killed, and five wounded; but the impetuoſity natural to the highlanders prevented the provincials from repeating it. Ruſhing on to revenge the death of their beloved commander, they ſtruck terror into the provincials, who quitted their advantageous ground, and fled to the woods. Whilſt the reſt of the troops were landing, lieutenant-colonel Campbell reconnoitred the poſition of general How's army, and determined to attack him before the evening. The Britiſh troops were accordingly put in motion, even before the laſt diviſion of them was landed, and having advanced within half a mile of the enemy, were formed in order of battle. The provincial general had drawn up his forces acroſs the main road leading to Savannah, and about half a mile from it. His right was covered by a thick woody ſwamp, and the houſes of a plantation filled with rifle-men; his left reached to the rice ſwamps upon the river, and the town and fort of Savannah covered his rear. One piece of cannon was poſted upon the right, another on the left, and two upon the great road in the centre; in front of which, at the diſtance of one hundred yards, where the high ground was narrowed by the approach of two ſwamps, a trench was cut acroſs the main road reaching from one ſwamp to the other; and about one hundred yards ſtill further in front, was a marſhy rivulet running parallel to the whole extent of the provincial line. The bridge over this rivulet had been burnt down, in order to retard the progreſs of the Britiſh army. Here the provincial general waited the approach of the Britiſh troops: And, had the attack been made only in front, perhaps the ground might have been obſtinately diſputed. But the Britiſh commander having received information of a private path leading through the ſwamp which covered the enemy's right flank, detached the light-infantry, under ſir James Baird, ſupported by the New York volunteers, to proceed by that path and gain the enemy's rear: And as it appeared by ſome movements of the enemy that they wiſhed and expected an attack upon their left, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, in order to induce a belief that this was intended, ordered the light-infantry, and New York volunteers, to file off by their right, as if the deſign had been to extend the front of the Britiſh line that way, until they reached a fall of the ground, by retiring within which to the rear, their ſubſequent movements in their progreſs to the ſwamp were effectually concealed from the view of the enemy. By this manœuvre the attention of the enemy was drawn from that quarter where danger was to be moſt apprehended; and ſir James Baird, under the guidance of a negro, having ſafely conducted his detachment by the private path to the rear of the enemy, ſuddenly iſſued from the ſwamp, and attacked a body of militia, which was poſted to ſecure the great road leading from Ogeeche. Hitherto the Britiſh troops in front had remained quiet upon their ground, without firing a gun in return for the provincial artillery; but as ſoon as it was perceptible that the light-infantry had turned the flank of the enemy, the whole Britiſh line received orders to advance and move on briſkly; and the artillery, which had been previouſly formed behind a ſwell in the ground, to conceal it from view, was inſtantly run forward to the eminence, and began to play upon the enemy. Thus aſſailed, the provincials quickly gave way, and running acroſs a plain in front of ſir James Baird's light-infantry, which had by this time diſperſed the militia and taken their cannon, were again attacked by them; who, with their uſual promptitude, daſhing upon the flanks of the fugitives, completed their rout, and added to the brilliant ſucceſs of the day. The provincials flying in confuſion through the town of Savannah, were cloſely purſued by the Britiſh troops; and before night thirty-eight commiſſioned officers, and four hundred and fifteen men of the enemy, the town and fort of Savannah, with the artillery, ammunition and ſtores, conſiſting of a large quantity of indigo, rice, ſugar, rum, &c. the ſhipping in the harbour, and a great quantity of proviſions, were in the poſſeſſion of the conquerors, whoſe loſs, during the whole of this day, amounted only to ſeven killed and nineteen wounded*.

So

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* Artillery, Stores, Ammunition, Shipping, &c. taken at the Reduction of Savannah, in the Year 1778.

48 pieces of cannon.
23 mortars.
1 ſtand of colours.
817 ſmall arms.
94 barrels

So deciſive a victory, gained at ſo inconſiderable an expence, rarely occurs, and muſt be attributed partly to the inexperience of the American general, but principally to the ſuperior military ſkill and addreſs of the Britiſh commander in improving to the utmoſt every favourable circumſtance which preſented itſelf for the final ſucceſs of the day, added to the zeal, vigour, promptitude, and exactneſs with which his orders were obeyed by the brave little army which he commanded.

By the unremitting exertions of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, aided by the zeal and activity of all who bore a ſhare in this expedition, the remains of the provincial army were driven acroſs the Savannah river into South Carolina, the different poſts upon that river were ſecured for fifty miles up, and the lower parts of the province were entirely at peace in leſs than ten days after the defeat of the American army at Savannah. A great majority of the inhabitants came in, and having taken the oath of allegiance, ſubmitted themſelves again to the authority of the mother-country. Rifle companies of dragoons were formed out of thoſe who came in to renew their allegiance, whoſe duty it was to patrol the country between the advanced poſts, and give information of the incurſions of the enemy; and various other wiſe and prudent regulations were adopted for the future peace and ſecurity of the province.

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94 barrels of gunpowder.
1545 cannon ſhot.
104 caſe ditto.
78 bag ditto.
32 cartridges filled for 4 pounders.
200 ſhells.
9 tons lead pigtail, and a conſiderable quantity of flints, nails, ſpikes, &c.
3 large ſhips, 3 brigantines, 2 ſloops, and 2 ſchooners, ſome of them with cargoes on board, taken; and 2 ſloops burnt.

CHAP. XXVII.

War between the Americans and Indians—War between France and England—Channel Fleet commanded by Admiral Keppel—Engagement between the French and Engliſh Fleets—Irreconcileable Difference between the Admirals Keppel and Palliſer—Inflamed by the Zeal of their reſpective Partizans—War in the Eaſt Indies.

CHAP. XXVII. 1778. War between the Americans and Indians.

SUCH were the principal events on the ſea-coaſt of the revolted colonies during the campaign of the year 1778: On their weſtern frontiers a deſultory war was ſtill carried on between them and the Indians, in the mode originally peculiar to theſe ſavages, but now too generally practiſed by their better-informed neighbours the white inhabitants bordering on their ſettlements. Mutual incurſions were made, and ruin and devaſtation followed on the ſteps of the ruthleſs invaders. Whole families were butchered, their houſes burnt, the growing corn cut up, and entire plantations laid waſte. In this barbarous warfare the flouriſhing new ſettlement of Wyoming, on the banks of the Suſquehanna, fell a ſacrifice to an incurſion of the Indians: And the Indian ſettlements of Unadilla and Anaquago, upon the upper parts of the ſame river, which were alſo inhabited by white people attached to the royal cauſe, were in their turn ravaged and deſtroyed by the Americans.

But we muſt now for a time quit the continent of North America, to purſue the courſe of the war through the various quarters to which it was transferred by the hoſtile intervention of the French.

1778.
War between France and England.

After the reſcript had been delivered which announced to the court of London the connexion and alliance formed betwen the king of France and the congreſs of the revolted colonies; and after the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, and the French ambaſſador at London, had ſeverally quitted the places of their reſidence, and returned to their reſpective courts, without the formality of taking leave, which, according to an etiquette long eſtabliſhed, is univerſally conſidered as a prelude to hoſtilities; both nations began to make the moſt aſſiduous preparations for open war. From Toulon, as we have already ſeen, a fleet of twelve ſhips of the line was ſent to ſea under the command of the count d'Eſtaing; but the principal naval arſenal of the French is at Breſt, and there every hand was employed, and every ſinew ſtretched, to get ready ſuch a fleet as might enable them to meet their opponents with advantage upon their own element. That they might the more effectually diſtract the attention of the Britiſh miniſtry, the ſtale device of threatening an invaſion was again reſorted to; and large bodies of troops were marched from the interior parts of the kingdom to the ſea-coaſt bordering on the Britiſh channel.

In Great Britain the people had been a good deal divided on the ſubject of the American war, and from a knowledge of this circumſtance the miniſtry were probaby deterred from acting with that deciſion which alone could have promiſed ſucceſs. Had no foreign power interfered, perhaps the war might have gradually languiſhed until ſuch terms had been offered as would have been accepted by the Americans, whoſe reſources, without foreign aid, muſt ſoon have failed. But the intervention of the French, in a domeſtic diſpute between a ſovereign and a part of his ſubjects, after the aſſurances which had been given to the contrary, was conſidered not only as an act of the baſeſt treachery, but as a proof of enmity and hatred againſt the Britiſh nation inveterately malignant; and to puniſh this perfidious interference every heart was united, and every hand uplifted. If any abatement is to be made from theſe unqualified aſſertions, it muſt be in favour of ſome of the leaders of the oppoſition, or their immediate adherents, who were ſo much wedded to the cauſe of America, that they not only deprecated the idea of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, but even rejoiced in their victories *. But certain it is, that after the alliance entered into by the people of the revolted colonies with the court of France, they loſt the favour and good opinion of all thoſe moderate men in the Britiſh dominions who had formerly eſpouſed their cauſe, from principle, whilſt they conſidered them as injured and innocent. But after the Americans had made themſelves guilty, if they were not ſo before, by leaguing with the enemies of their country, the people of Great Britain became more united in the proſecution of the war: Their reſentment was kindled; the national ſpirit was rouſed with the proſpect of the impending difficulties; the miniſtry recovered from their deſpondence; and warlike preparations were made with a ſpirit and efficacy which our enemies little expected. To guard againſt the poſſibility of an invaſion, the militia were called forth and embodied; and although the French, by being the aggreſſors, had it in their power to adapt their open interference to the ſtate of their preparations, yet ſuch was the vigour of our exertions, that a Britiſh fleet of twenty ſhips of the line was cruiſing in the channel before the grand fleet of France was in readineſs to come out of the harbour of Breſt.

The Britiſh fleet in the channel, commanded by admiral Keppel.

Admiral Keppel had been fixed upon to command the channel fleet, as being a brave and experienced officer, who was highly popular, and much beloved in the navy; and as he was attached to the oppoſition, it was hoped that his appointment, if it did not entirely reconcile the leaders of that party to the meaſures which were in

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* See Parliamentary Debates for a late altercation between Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, reſpecting the French revolution.

agitation,

CHAP. XXVII. 17,8. agitation, would at leaſt ſilence much of their clamour. In the Victory, of a hundred guns, he ſailed from Portſmouth on the twelfth of June; and during his cruiſe hoſtilities were formally commenced between Great Britain and France.

Whilſt the fleet was at ſea, on the ſeventeenth, two ſtrange ſhips being ſeen reconnoitring, orders were given to chaſe, and conduct them under the ſtern of the admiral's ſhip. One of them, the Licorne, a French frigate, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and thirty men, being overtaken towards the evening by ſeveral ſhips of the fleet, conſented to ſail with them during the night, but in the morning diſcovering an intention of going off, by attempting to get upon a different tack, a ſhot was fired acroſs her, when in an inſtant ſhe poured a whole broadſide of her great guns and muſketry into the America, a Britiſh line-of-battle ſhip which happened to be neareſt to her, and immediately ſtruck her colours. Strange as this proceeding was, it was rendered ſtill more extraordinary by the following circumſtance that attended it: For at the very inſtant when the French frigate fired her cannon and muſketry, lord Longford, the commander of the America, was ſtanding upon the gunwale of his own ſhip, in friendly converſation with the French commander. A broadſide from the America, which at ſo near a diſtance would have probably ſunk the French frigate to the bottom, would have been a juſt retribution for ſo uſeleſs and audacious a bravado; but the noble commander wiſely reſtrained his reſentment, and ſatisfied himſelf with ſending the Licorne under the ſtern of the Victory. The other ſhip, which proved to be the Belle Poule, a large French frigate, carrying heavy cannon, and commanded by the ſieur de la Clocheterie, was alſo overtaken in the evening, but at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, by the Britiſh frigate the Arethuſa, of thirty-two guns, commanded by captain Marſhall, who communicated to the French commander the admiral's requeſt to ſpeak with him, and his orders for conducting him into the fleet. With theſe orders the French commander repeatedly and peremptorily refuſed to comply. A ſhot from the Arethuſa was then fired acroſs the French frigate, which was returned with a broadſide from the latter, when a furious and bloody engagement began, which was obſtinately and reſolutely maintained on both ſides for more than two hours. It was almoſt a calm, and as the two frigates were near to each other, the damage done to both was very conſiderable; but the Arethuſa had ſuffered ſo much in her maſts, ſails, and rigging, that at laſt, from the ſcantineſs of the wind, ſhe became quite unmanageable, and floated upon the water like a wreck. Whilſt the Britiſh frigate remained in this ungovernable ſtate, the French commander ſet his foreſail, and with the help of a light breeze which ſprung up, made for the French coaſt, and anchored in a bay amongſt the rocks; from which ſituation his ſhip was towed out of danger the following morning by boats from the ſhore. If the comparative damage in the maſts, ſails, and rigging, was greateſt on board the Arethuſa, it was overbalanced by the greater loſs of men on board the Belle Poule. According to the French accounts the number of killed on board the Belle Poule was eſtimated at forty-eight, and the wounded at fifty-ſeven; whereas the Arethuſa had only eight men killed and thirty-ſix wounded. On the following morning another French frigate, the Pallas, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and twenty men, which was alſo diſcovered reconnoitring, was conducted into the fleet, and in conſequence of the hoſtile procedure of the commanders of the Belle Poule and the Licorne was with the laſt of theſe ſhips ſent into Plymouth.

The ſeizure and detention of theſe ſhips furniſhed the French with a pretence for charging the Britiſh nation with being the aggreſſors in the war: But when two nations are in ſuch a ſtate of enmity, that hoſtilities muſt neceſſarily enſue between them, it ſeems to be a matter of little conſequence by which of them the war is begun; and on the preſent occaſion the firſt deliberate act of hoſtility had been indiſputably committed long ago by the court of France, in leaguing with the rebellious ſubjects of the crown of Great Britain, which would have juſtified inſtant vengeance on the part of the latter. But on this point the Britiſh miniſtry ſeem to have been peculiarly delicate; for although admiral Keppel ſeized and detained two of the French king's frigates, for improper conduct in one of their commanders, he ſuffered the peaceful merchantmen to paſs through his fleet unmoleſted; nor were letters of repriſal iſſued in Great Britain until ſome time after they had been iſſued by the court of France.

By the ſeizure of theſe frigates, admiral Keppel obtained ſuch information of the ſtrength of the French fleet fitting out at Breſt, as determined him to return into port and wait for a reinforcement. The fleet accordingly came to an anchor at St. Helen's on the twenty-ſeventh of June. Thither the firſt lord of the admiralty immediately repaired, to concert meaſures for reinforcing the fleet; and with ſuch expedition were theſe meaſures executed, that the admiral was again at ſea by the middle of July, with an addition to his fleet of ten ſhips of the line. It now conſiſted of thirty ſhips of the line, one of them of the firſt rate, ſix of them of ninety guns, and the remainder of the third rate, which were formed into three diviſions, the centre commanded by the admiral himſelf, and the other two diviſions by vice-admirals ſir Robert Harland and ſir Hugh Palliſer.

By this time the French fleet, under the command of the count d'Orvilliers, was alſo at ſea, having left the harbour of Breſt on the eighth of July; and no ſooner had it ſailed than general letters of repriſal againſt the king of Great Britain and his ſubjects, grounded on the capture of the Pallas and Licorne, were iſſued by the court of France. The two fleets being thus at ſea, in the ſummer ſeaſon, it could not be long before they met. On the twenty-third of July, in the afternoon, they came in ſight of each other, when the Britiſh fleet

Engagement between the French and Engliſh fleets.

fleet happened to be much diſperſed. A ſignal for forming the line was immediately thrown out; but night came on by the time the ſhips were able to get into their proper ſtations; and before the morning the French fleet had obtained the weather-gage. For four days ſucceſſively did the Britiſh admiral, by chaſing to windward, endeavour to bring the French fleet to an engagement; but his leeward ſituation rendered all his endeavours fruitleſs. Although the fleet of the count d'Orvilliers outnumbered that of admiral Keppel by two ſhips of the line, and a much greater proportion of frigates, he nevertheleſs carefully kept the advantage of the wind, and with equal caution avoided an engagement. But on the morning of the twenty-ſeventh, whilſt the Britiſh fleet ſtill chaſed to windward, endeavouring to profit by a ſlight variation in its favour, a ſudden ſquall came on, at the very inſtant in which the French fleet was in the act of performing an evolution, and ſo very thick, that during its continuance, the two fleets were concealed from the view of each other. When the weather cleared up at the end of half an hour, it was perceived that the French fleet during the ſquall had fallen to leeward, and was now ſo near the leading ſhips in the van of the Britiſh fleet, commanded by ſir Robert Harland, as to begin to cannonade them. At this inſtant the ſignal for battle was thrown out by the Britiſh admiral; and an engagement began between the two fleets as they paſſed on contrary tacks, and in oppoſite directions, which laſted about two hours. When the fleets had paſſed each other, and the firing had ceaſed, the Britiſh admiral wore his ſhip to return upon the enemy, and threw out a ſignal for the reſt of his fleet to follow his example, and form the line; but at this moment, obſerving that ſome of his ſhips, diſabled in the engagement, had fallen to leeward, and were in danger of being cut off by the enemy, he was in the firſt place obliged to take meaſures for their ſafety. By the manœuvres neceſſary for this purpoſe, and by the length of time required for repairing the damages ſuſtained by the ſhips of the rear diviſion, under ſir Hugh Palliſer, which had come laſt out of the engagement, before they could be again brought into their ſtations in the line, the day was ſo far ſpent, that the battle could not be renewed that evening. In the mean time, the count d'Orvilliers ranged his fleet in order of battle to leeward, and put on every appearance as if he meant to wait the attack of the Britiſh admiral in the morning; but in the night he quitted his ſtation, and ſteered for the coaſt of France, leaving three of his frigates to ſhew lights at proper intervals, correſponding to the leading ſhips of the three diviſions of his fleet, thereby to conceal his flight from the Britiſh admiral. In the morning the French fleet was at ſuch a diſtance as ſcarcely to be diſcernible. A ſignal was made for chaſing the frigates, but it was found impracticable to overtake them; and the fleet to which they belonged being ſtill at a greater diſtance, with the wind favourable for carrying it into port, a purſuit was deemed uſeleſs. The Britiſh admiral returned to Plymouth to repair the damage done to his fleet, and to land the wounded men; and the count d'Orvilliers, after the action, made the beſt of his way to the harbour of Breſt, for a ſimilar purpoſe. The loſs of men on board the Britiſh fleet in this day's engagement amounted to one hundred and thirty-three killed, and three hundred and ſeventy-three wounded: What the loſs on the ſide of the French was, does not appear ever to have been made public; but it is highly probable that it was much greater, not only as a French ſhip carries a greater number of men than a Britiſh ſhip of equal force, but as the Britiſh ſeamen point their guns at the hull, whilſt the French ſeamen principally aim at the ſails and rigging.

Irreconcileable difference between the admirals Keppel and Palliſer.

One very unfortunate conſequence which followed from this engagement, was, an irreconcileable difference which it occaſioned between the naval commander in chief and ſir Hugh Palliſer, one of his vice-admirals, who commanded the rear diviſion of the fleet on the day of the engagement: A difference which, inflamed by the indiſcreet zeal of the partiſans on both ſides, roſe to ſuch a height, as had nearly created a fatal diſſenſion in the naval ſervice. At laſt both the admirals were in their turn tried by a court-martial for their conduct in this day's engagement, and both were acquitted; the acquittal of the commander in chief being attended with circumſtances particularly honourable. He was not only fully and honourably acquitted, but the charges againſt him were by the ſentence of the court-martial pronounced to be malicious. When the news of his acquittal reached London, very general illuminations, inſtigated by his political partiſans, took place for two ſucceſſive nights; and the thanks of both houſes of parliament were voted to him for his conduct. One member only, Mr. Sturt, had the firmneſs (for many it was believed had the inclination), when the queſtion was put for thanks to admiral Keppel, to ſay, in a very audible and impreſſive tone of voice, No. But after all theſe teſtimonies, ſo honourable to the naval commander in chief, ſo violently had this diſpute been agitated in the daily publications, and ſo confidently did the partiſans on each ſide charge the other with criminal miſconduct or neglect, that an opinion ſeems to have become rooted, and ſtill in a great meaſure prevails, notwithſtanding the acquittal of both the admirals, that ſo much was not done on the twenty-ſeventh of July as might have been done.

One happy circumſtance attending admiral Keppel's engagement, was, that it took place at a critical time, when ſeveral Britiſh fleets of homeward-bound merchantmen were expected in the channel: And as, after the engagement, the count d'Orvilliers was obliged to return into Breſt to refit, it fortunately happened, that during this interval theſe fleets arrived in ſafety.

Both the French and Britiſh fleets put to ſea as ſoon as their damage was repaired; but they did not again meet during the preſent year.

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1778.

year. By their reciprocal operations the trade of both countries ſuffered a little; but the balance of captures at the end of the year was conſiderably in favour of Great Britain.

War in the Eaſt Indies,

Whilſt the French, with almoſt equal ſucceſs, thus diſputed the empire of the ſea in Europe, they had nearly loſt all their poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. When a rupture was ſeen to be inevitable, ſo expeditiouſly had the Engliſh Eaſt India company tranſmitted their orders, and with ſo much promptitude were theſe orders executed, that the war broke out in India almoſt as ſoon as in Europe. Chandernagore and all the factories belonging to the French in Bengal, at Yanaon, and Karical, with their ſettlement at Maſſulipatam, were wreſted from them during the ſummer; and, in the month of October, the town and fortreſs of Pondicherry, the capital of the French poſſeſſions, and the ſeat of their government in India, with an immenſe train of artillery, and a garriſon of three thouſand men, nine hundred of which were Europeans, after being inveſted for two months and ten days by an army under major-general Hector Munro by land, and by a ſquadron of ſhips of war under commodore ſir Edward Vernon by ſea, was ſurrendered by capitulation.* And thus in leſs than four months from the commencement of hoſtilities, the French power in Bengal, and on the coaſt of Coromandel, was entirely annihilated.

But in the weſtern hemiſphere, to which we muſt now again return, the ſucceſs of theſe two great contending powers, in their al-

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* Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, and Stores, taken at Pondicherry, in the Eaſt Indies.

210	pieces of iron ordnance	60	wall pieces
58	pieces of braſs ditto	45	carbines
6	howitzers	556	piſtols
20	braſs mortars	930	ſwords
2	iron ditto	80	barrels gunpowder
6182	muſkets	21708	ſhot of different ſizes.
168	rifle-barrel pieces		

ternate endeavours to wreſt from each other their foreign poſſeſſions, was much more equally balanced.

1778. and in the Weſt.

The French having been permitted by the treaty of Paris, in 1763, to ſhare in the Newfoundland fiſhery, which is juſtly eſteemed a moſt beneficial ſource of commerce; and being, by the ſame treaty, allowed during the fiſhing ſeaſon the temporary uſe of the two ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, for the purpoſe of curing their fiſh, and preparing them for market; it was therefore thought to be an object of ſome importance to deprive them of theſe advantages ſo ſoon as it was apparent that they no longer held themſelves bound by the treaty through which ſuch privileges had been ſecured to them. No ſooner, therefore, had vice-admiral Montague, who commanded on the Newfoundland ſtation, received advices of the hoſtile operations of the count d'Eſtaing on the coaſt of America, than he, in purſuance of orders previouſly tranſmitted to him from England, diſpatched commodore Evans in the Romney, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war, having on board a party of artillery and two hundred marines, under the command of major Wemys, with orders to diſpoſſeſs the French of theſe two iſlands, and deſtroy their temporary ſettlements. This ſervice was performed without any difficulty. The ſquadron appeared in the road of St. Pierre on the fourteenth of September; and the French governor, being totally unprovided with the means of defence againſt ſuch a force, ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. The arms of the inhabitants, their fiſhing veſſels, and furniture, with a conſiderable quantity of oil, fiſh, and ſalt, were delivered up to the captors*; and the inhabitants themſelves, amounting

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* Arms, Ammunition, Veſſels, Fiſh, &c. taken at St. Pierre and Miquelon, in Newfoundland.

173	muſkets, with bayonets and cartouch-boxes	165	ſhallops without decks
83	ſwords	82	canoes
106	belts	16235	quintals of fiſh
10	ſhallops with ſhifting decks	201	hogſheads of oil
22	ditto with fixed ditto	244	ditto of ſalt.

to ſomething more than two thouſand men, were ſhipped off for France. Every thing valuable, which could not be removed, was deſtroyed; and the French ſettlements on theſe iſlands were entirely laid waſte.

In the ſame month, and almoſt with the ſame eaſe, the marquis de Bouillé, governor of Martinique, the principal of the French windward iſlands in the Weſt Indies, made himſelf maſter of the Britiſh iſland of Dominica. The contiguous ſituation of theſe two iſlands, and the defenceleſs ſtate of the latter, rendered this an enterpriſe of little difficulty. In the evening of the ſixth of September, two thouſand men were embarked on board tranſports at Martinique, and with theſe, eſcorted by four frigates and ten ſmaller armed veſſels, the marquis de Bouillé, early in the morning of the ſeventh, appeared off the ſouth end of Dominica. A detachment was immediately landed to attack fort Cachacrou, ſituated upon a point of land jutting out into the ſea, round which the fleet muſt paſs to reach Roſeau, the capital of the iſland; and from the weakneſs of the garriſon, of which the marquis de Bouillé had been previouſly apprized, this fort became an eaſy conqueſt. The garriſon was ſoon overpowered; and the fleet paſſed round the point unmoleſted. A general debarkation now took place at Point Michel; and as ſoon as a landing was effected, the French troops marched on towards Roſeau. The battery of Loubiere lay in their way, but it was evacuated as they approached, after the garriſon had expended all their ammunition. The regular troops in the iſland conſiſted only of a party of the royal artillery, and a detachment from the forty-eighth regiment. Theſe, with all the militia which could be got together, did not amount to five hundred men; and it was ſoon perceived that their reſiſtance againſt a force ſo ſuperior, could not long avail. Detachments of the French were already in poſſeſſion of the heights behind Roſeau; their main body approached the town from the place of their debarkation: The frigates were advancing to batter the forts; and preparations were making for an aſſault. In this critical juncture, a deputation from the council and principal inhabitants of the iſland requeſted the governor to call a council of war: Their requeſt being complied with, and the opinion of the council of war being in favour of a capitulation, an offer for that purpoſe was made by the governor, which was immediately accepted by the marquis de Bouillé; and ſuch liberal terms of capitulation were granted as ſecured the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their property, and of all the rights, privileges, and immunities which they held under the Britiſh government, with the further advantage of exporting their produce to whatever part of the world they thought fit, upon the payment of ſuch duties as the inhabitants of the French iſlands had been accuſtomed to pay in the iſlands or in Europe. The inhabitants were even allowed to retain their arms, upon condition of not ſerving againſt France during the war. The garriſon of regular troops, after marching out with all the honours of war, and depoſiting their arms, were to be tranſported to Great Britain under the condition of not ſerving againſt the king of France until they were exchanged. And as a particular mark of reſpect for governor Stuart, he was to be at liberty to go where he pleaſed, and to continue in the ſervice of his prince without reſtraint. So haſtily was this buſineſs ſettled, that the capitulation for the ſurrender of the whole iſland was ſigned, and the French put in poſſeſſion of Fort Young before night. The marquis de Bouillé having thus made himſelf maſter of Dominica, returned without delay to Martinique, leaving fifteen hundred of his troops to garriſon the iſland. His return was probably haſtened by the riſk which he incurred of being intercepted by admiral Barrington, who was then at Barbadoes, with a fleet of two ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates; and the ſame cauſe may account for the facility with which he granted in the terms of capitulation almoſt every thing which was aſked.

This ſudden and ſucceſsful attack created an univerſal alarm in all the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands. But the French force at Martinique was ſtill inſufficient for any diſtant operation; and fortunately before the arrival of the count d'Eſtaing in the Weſt India ſeas, the reinforcement of ſhips and troops which, we have ſeen, ſailed from New York on the third of November, had reached Barbadoes, and joined admiral Barrington, who had been waiting there for ſome time in expectation of that junction.

The troops under general Grant being deſigned for immediate offenſive operations, were not diſembarked: And on the twelfth of December, only two days after their arrival, admiral Barrington, with the whole fleet, left Barbadoes, and ſailed for the French iſland of St. Lucie, where he arrived the following day. The iſland of St. Lucie, on the weſt ſide, is indented by three great bays, ſeparated from each other by narrow ridges of high and ſtrong ground jutting out into the ocean. The moſt northerly of theſe is called the Bay of Du Choque; that in the middle, the Carenage Bay, at the head of which ſtands Morne Fortune, the capital town of the iſland, and the ſeat of the government; and the moſt ſoutherly of theſe bays is called the Grand Cul de Sac. It was this laſt bay which the Britiſh fleet entered on the thirteenth of December. Brigadier-general, now ſir William Meadows, with the fifth regiment, and the grenadiers and light-infantry of the army, which compoſed the reſerve, being forthwith landed, forced the heights on the north ſide of the bay, occupied by the chevalier de Mecond, the governor, with the regular force which he had under him, and the militia of the iſland, and took poſſeſſion of a battery of four guns which had annoyed the fleet as it entered the bay: And in the mean time brigadier-general Preſcot was landed with five regiments, to ſecure the other poſts round the bay, and to preſerve a communication with the reſerve. On the following morning, the whole of the troops being diſembarked, and brigadier-general ſir Henry Calder, with four battalions, being left to guard the landing-place, to preſerve a communication with the fleet, and to occupy the different paſſes in the mountains on the ſouth ſide of the bay, the reſerve, under general Meadows, ſupported by general Preſcot's brigade, advanced towards the head of the Carenage, and without meeting with any material obſtruction, took poſſeſſion of the town of Morne Fortune, with the government houſe, hoſpital, barracks, and all the ſtores and magazines belonging to the iſland; the governor having been obliged to retire from poſt to poſt as the Britiſh troops advanced. From Morne Fortune brigadier-general Meadows proceeded on to the important poſt called the Virgie, which commands the north ſide of the Carenage harbour, and before the evening was in poſſeſſion of all the different batteries and poſts upon the neck of land which ſeparates the bay of the Carenage from that of Du Choque. Scarcely had this been accompliſhed, when the count d'Eſtaing's fleet appeared in full view. That commander, upon his arrival at Martinique, had been joined by a fleet of tranſports, with nine thouſand troops on board, and with theſe and his ſuperior fleet he was elated with the hope of cruſhing the ſmall naval force under admiral Barrington, and reducing moſt of the windward Britiſh iſlands before admiral Byron could come to their aſſiſtance. With hopes thus ſanguine, he ſailed from Martinique; Barbadoes, St. Vincent's, Grenada, Tobago, were all in their turn threatened with ſubjection to his irreſiſtible force. But the unexpected attack upon St. Lucie, information of which was conveyed to him by a veſſel which eſcaped from the iſland, and met him at ſea, diſarranged all his ſchemes, and for the preſent obliged him to give up his viſionary plans of conqueſt. The relief of that iſland was firſt to be provided for; and with his ſuperiority of force he did not doubt of being able to accompliſh it. Thither, therefore, he directed his courſe, and appeared in ſight, as we have already mentioned, almoſt immediately after the Britiſh troops had completed the circuit of the Carenage, and ſecured the high grounds which command it on the north ſide. He was yet unapprized of the extent of their progreſs; and on the following morning ſteered with his whole fleet for the bay of the Carenage, ſuppoſing it not to be poſſeſſed by the Britiſh troops; but a battery which opened upon his fleet as it entered the bay, and ſtruck his own ſhip the Languedoc, ſoon convinced him of his miſtake, and obliged him, after returning this ſalutation with a broadſide, to ſtand out to ſea.

The count d'Eſtaing, being thus diſappointed in his attempt upon the Carenage, after diſcovering by his movements ſome degree of embarraſſment and heſitation, directed his courſe towards the Grand Cul de Sac, where admiral Barrington, in expectation of an attack, had already made a diſpoſition for repelling it. Never, perhaps, was a greater ſtake committed to the defence of a force in appearance ſo inadequate. Admiral Barrington, with only three ſhips of the line, as many ſhips of fifty guns, and the remaining part of his force conſiſting of frigates, was not only to defend himſelf againſt twelve ſhips of the line, with a numerous train of frigates and American armed ſhips and privateers, but alſo to protect a large fleet of tranſports, having on board the proviſions, ammunition, ſtores, and baggage of the army, which there had not yet been time to land; and thus the fate of the army on ſhore became implicated in that of the fleet. Yet ſuch was the confidence of the officers of the fleet in each other, but above all, in the naval ability and experience of their firm and undaunted commander, that never was a defence undertaken with more alacrity, or greater hopes of ſucceſs; nor did the event diſappoint their moſt ſanguine expectations. During the night, and in the morning, the tranſports being warped into the bay, and the ſhips of war ſtationed without them, in a line acroſs the entrance, ſo juſt a diſpoſition of his very inferior force did the

Britiſh admiral make, that the count d'Eſtaing was repulſed with loſs in two different attacks which he made during the day; the firſt with ten of his largeſt ſhips, and the laſt with his whole force. The loſs ſuſtained by the Britiſh fleet in theſe attacks, conſiſted only of two men killed and eight wounded. One ſolitary trophy fell into the enemy's hands, a ſingle tranſport, loaded with the baggage of ſome officers of the army, which there had not been time to warp within the line of ſhips of war. The count d'Eſtaing being thus completely foiled in his naval operations, both at the Carenage and the Grand Cul de Sac, determined to diſembark his troops, and try the effect of an attack upon general Grant by land; and on the following morning, after being joined by a frigate, which was ſeen ſtanding into his fleet, with a number of ſignals flying, he plied to windward beyond the Carenage Bay, and came to an anchor off Groſs Iſlet. In the night, and during the following day, his troops were landed from the tranſports, which had anchored in the bay of Du Choque; and as the poſſeſſion of the poſt of the Vergie would have enabled his fleet to enter the Carenage with ſafety, an attack upon that poſt was the firſt military operation that he projected. Two days before, the ſafety of the Britiſh army depended upon the ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the fleet; and now the ſafety of the fleet was in its turn to depend upon the exertions of the army: For ſhould the count d'Eſtaing ſucceed againſt general Grant by land, admiral Barrington could not long withſtand a combined attack from his ſuperior fleet by ſea, and his batteries on ſhore. The high grounds of the Vergie were occupied by brigadier-general Meadows, with the reſerve of the army; and he prepared to defend them with a reſolution ſuitable to their importance, and the high expectations formed from his known gallantry, and the bravery of the ſelect corps which he commanded. Every thing being in readineſs for the aſſault, the French on the eighteenth of December advanced in three columns, led by the count d'Eſtaing, the marquis de Bouillé, and the count Lovendahl. Thrice did they ruſh on to the attack, and as often were they repulſed. In the emphatic language of general Grant, "their two firſt attacks were made with the impetuoſity of Frenchmen; and they were repulſed with the determined bravery of Britons." In the third attack they were ſoon broke, and fled in confuſion. General Meadows, although wounded early in the day, would not quit the field; but on horſeback viſited every quarter where his preſence was neceſſary, and continued to give his orders, notwithſtanding the anguiſh of his wound, until the triumph of the day was completed, in the final rout and diſcomfiture of the French. In the different actions of this day, the French artillery which had been taken upon the iſland was turned againſt themſelves, and did fatal execution. Four hundred were left dead on the field; and, according to their own accounts, their wounded were nearly three times that number. The magnitude of their loſs, exceeding in number the whole of the Britiſh troops which were engaged, evinces the deſperation and perſeverance with which the French made and ſupported their attacks, and places far beyond the reach of praiſe the maſterly diſpoſition formed by general Meadows for the defence of his poſt, and the bravery and firmneſs of the troops to whom that defence was entruſted. The whole loſs of the Britiſh troops amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-one: Of theſe thirteen only were killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and eight miſſing. After this ſevere defeat, the count d'Eſtaing remained inactive until the twenty-eighth of December, in the night of which he reimbarked his troops, and on the following morning ſailed with his whole fleet to Martinique. Whilſt the French fleet was yet in ſight, the chevalier de Micond offered to capitulate for the ſurrender of the iſland; and although he was now deſtitute of all hope of relief, and entirely at the mercy of the Britiſh commanders, who might have inſiſted on a ſurrender at diſcretion, ſuch liberal terms were granted as his deſerted and deſperate ſituation gave him little reaſon to expect. The governor and his garriſon were allowed to march

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march out of their poſts with the honours of war, and to retain their baggage; and having delivered up their arms, were to be tranſported to Martinique, as priſoners of war, not to ſerve in any military capacity until exchanged. The inhabitants, on delivering up their arms and taking the oath of allegiance to the king of Great Britain, were to be ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their habitations and property, and in the exerciſe of their religion, to be governed according to the eſtabliſhed laws of the colony, and to be entitled to the ſame protection as Britiſh ſubjects, and not to be obliged to bear arms againſt the troops of the king of France. Theſe terms being granted, all ſtores of ammunition and proviſions, and every thing in general belonging to the king of France, were to be faithfully accounted for, and delivered up to the Britiſh commiſſioners*.

1779. On the ſixth of January 1779, admiral Byron's fleet, which had been ſo long expected, arrived at St. Lucie, juſt eight days after the departure of the count d'Eſtaing; and had it not been detained in the harbour of Newport, at Rhode Iſland, by contrary winds and ſtormy weather for fourteen days after it was ready to ſail, it is probable, either that the retreat of the count d'Eſtaing to Martinique would have been cut off, or that a general engagement muſt have been riſked in order to effect it. But all the proceedings of admiral Byron had hitherto been marred by the oppoſition of the elements; and even in his preſent paſſage from Rhode Iſland, the Fame, one of his ſhips, was diſmaſted.

By his arrival the Britiſh naval force in the Weſt Indies became equal, if not ſuperior, to that under count d'Eſtaing, who was henceforward obliged to act upon the defenſive, and ſhelter his fleet

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* Ordnance, Ammunition, Stores, &c. taken at St. Lucie in December 1778.

59	pieces of ordnance of different ſizes	200	whole barrels corned powder
5766	round ſhot	333	muſkets
407	langridge ditto	18,100	muſket cartridges filled with ball
2899	cartridges for ordnance	2	cwt. 2 qrs. muſket ball.

within the bay of Fort Royal. So apprehenſive did he appear to be of the effects of a general engagement, that for ſix months together he only ventured twice to put to ſea; and both times haſtily returned as ſoon as the Britiſh fleet was ſeen ſtanding towards him. The iſlands of Martinique and St. Lucie are ſo near to each other, that the French fleet could ſcarcely come out of Fort Royal Bay without being ſeen from St. Lucie; and ſome ſmall faſt-ſailing veſſels were alſo appointed to watch its motions. Frequent ſquadrons were ſent to cruiſe off the mouth of Fort Royal harbour, and, if poſſible, provoke the count d'Eſtaing to come out and riſk an engagement; but no mortification of this ſort could induce him to deviate from his defenſive plan. Both fleets were reinforced during the winter; that of admiral Byron by a ſquadron of ſhips from England, under commodore Rowley, who had under his convoy a fleet of merchantmen for the Weſt India iſlands; and that of count d'Eſtaing by a ſquadron from France, under the command of the count de Graſſe: But notwithſtanding this reinforcement, the count d'Eſtaing ſtill remained in the harbour of Fort Royal.

When the ſeaſon arrived for the departure of the Weſt India fleet of merchant-ſhips for England, admiral Byron was obliged to quit his ſtation, and put to ſea, for the purpoſe of enabling the ſhips from the different iſlands to aſſemble with ſafety at St. Chriſtopher's, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous. Thither, therefore, he directed his courſe, having left St. Lucie on the ſixth of June. The departure of the Britiſh fleet for the protection of the homeward-bound trade, was the ſignal for the French to commence their operations. A force, conſiſting of four hundred and fifty men, under the command of the chevalier de Trolong du Romain, was embarked at Martinique, on board of four veſſels, and ſailed for the iſland of St. Vincent's, where they arrived on the twelfth of June. A landing was immediately effected, and a communication opened with the Caribs, the original inhabitants of the

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iſland, who yet retained the poſſeſſion of ſome part of it. Between them and the Britiſh ſettlers a war had broke out ſome few years before, which, after much bloodſhed on both ſides, terminated in the ſubjugation of the former. But the Caribs, compelled to ſubmit, were not reconciled: They ſtill retained their ancient reſentment. They conſidered the Britiſh ſettlers as unjuſt intruders upon their poſſeſſions, and were ready to join the French as ſoon as they landed. The garriſon of the iſland conſiſted of ſeven companies of the ſixtieth regiment, amounting to four hundred and ſixty-four men, rank and file, beſides officers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Etherington, as appears by a return of it made on the firſt day of April in the preſent year; but of theſe only three hundred and fifty-ſeven were actually effective, the reſt being confined with ſickneſs either in the barracks or hoſpital. The French, joined by the Caribs, advanced againſt Kingſton, the capital of the iſland, without meeting with any oppoſition. On the ſixteenth of June they took poſſeſſion of the heights behind the town; and on the ſame day, without a muſket having been fired, the whole iſland was ſurrendered by Valentine Morris, eſquire, the governor, with the conſent of the commander of the garriſon, on terms ſimilar to thoſe which had been granted by the marquis de Bouillé to the inhabitants and garriſon of Dominica. The eaſy conqueſt of St. Vincent's ſeems to have been the cauſe of much ſurpriſe to general Grant, who commanded at St. Lucie: But although no ſatisfactory reaſon has been yet given to the public, for this tame ſubmiſſion on the part of the civil governor, and the commander of the king's troops in St. Vincent's, unleſs the dread of the Caribs, whoſe ferocity during the former war was ſtill remembered, can be admitted to be ſuch; it is nevertheleſs preſumable, that ſuch reaſons did exiſt, becauſe it is ſcarcely credible, that a Britiſh officer, bred in the army from his infancy, who had arrived at the rank of lieutenant-colonel, would

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would have conſented to ſurrender his troops in this quiet and inoffenſive manner, if there had been any reaſonable hope of a ſucceſsful reſiſtance.

The iſland of St. Vincent having thus become an eaſy conqueſt, the count d'Eſtaing, whoſe fleet had by this time been increaſed by another reinforcement of ſhips under the command of monſieur de la Motte Piquet, ſailed from Martinique towards the end of June, to make an attack upon Grenada, during the abſence of admiral Byron. His fleet conſiſted of thirty-four ſhips of war, beſides a number of tranſports carrying nine thouſand land forces. Of the ſhips of war, twenty-ſix were of the line, and the reſt large frigates. With this formidable force he arrived at Grenada on the ſecond of July. The fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Moliniere; and the troops were immediately landed. Detachments from theſe, during the night, took poſſeſſion of ſome heights in the vicinity of the town of St. George, the capital of the iſland, from which the count d'Eſtaing, on the following day, was enabled to reconnoitre the defences of the place. Theſe conſiſted of a fort, and an intrenched hill, upon which the hoſpital ſtood. This hill, which nearly commanded the fort, conſtituted the principal defence of the place, being ſteep and of difficult aſcent, and ſtrengthened alſo with palliſadoes, and ſome lines of entrenchment. The whole regular force of the iſland did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, of whom twenty-four were artillery recruits, and the reſt belonging to the forty-eighth regiment: To theſe were joined about four hundred militia, conſiſting chiefly of French inhabitants, who had become ſubjects after the peace of 1763, and of people of colour; but in the night after the landing of the French, ſo many of the militia deſerted, that the whole effective force of the garriſon was reduced under three hundred men. To a ſummons ſent by the count d'Eſtaing, demanding a ſurrender of the iſland, lord Macartney, the governor, reſolutely anſwered, that he was unacquainted with the force of the beſiegers, but that he knew his own, and was determined to defend himſelf as long as he could. The count d'Eſtaing had hoped that the diſplay which he had made of the magnitude of his force, both by ſea and land, would have induced the governor to capitulate, from a conviction that all oppoſition would be fruitleſs; but the anſwer which he now received announced an obſtinate reſiſtance, from which the ſiege, if carried on by regular approaches, might be protracted until the arrival of admiral Byron with the Britiſh fleet. He therefore determined, after viewing the works, to ſtorm the lines upon the hoſpital hill, whatever number of men it might coſt him. A diſpoſition was accordingly made; and the following night the lines were aſſaulted in three different places, the column which made the principal attack being commanded by the count d'Eſtaing in perſon. The French were at firſt repulſed, and ſuffered ſeverely, not only from the fire of the garriſon, but from the guns of a ſhip of war in the harbour, which enfiladed one of their columns. In the next attack, however, they were ſucceſsful, forced the lines, notwithſtanding a brave reſiſtance made by the garriſon, and gained the ſummit of the hill. The cannon found on the hoſpital hill were on the following morning turned againſt the fort; and the fort being commanded by the hill, Lord Macartney was reduced to the neceſſity of ſending a flag of truce with an offer of ſurrendering the iſland by capitulation. In anſwer to his flag, he was allowed only an hour and a half to propoſe his terms; and although theſe were got ready, and preſented in due time, they were inſtantly and wholly rejected by the count d'Eſtaing, who, inſtead of them, made propoſals ſo extraordinary and inadmiſſible, that the governor, with the conſent of the principal inhabitants, rather than accept of them, agreed to ſurrender at diſcretion; and in this manner, on the fourth of July, the count d'Eſtaing became poſſeſſed of the iſland of Grenada, In the mean time, admiral Byron, who had ſailed with the homeward-bound fleet from St. Chriſtopher's, on the fifteenth of June, after accompanying them a proper diſtance, and appointing a convoy to eſcort them during the remainder of their paſſage, returned with the reſt of his fleet to his former ſtation at St. Lucie, where, however, he did not arrive until the firſt of July, having been for ſome time retarded by a ſtrong eaſterly wind and lee-current, in his endeavours to weather the iſland of Martinique. At St. Lucie he was informed of the capture of St. Vincent's: And an arrangement for its recovery being inſtantly made between him and general Grant, ſo expeditiouſly were the troops embarked, which were deſtined for this ſervice, that the whole fleet ſailed on the third of July. In the paſſage to St. Vincent's, information was received that the count d'Eſtaing had left Martinique, and was gone to attack Grenada. This intelligence produced a change in the plan which had been pre-concerted between the admiral and the general; and a determination was now made to proceed with all expedition to the relief of Grenada. Soon afterwards two veſſels which had made their eſcape, after the arrival of count d'Eſtaing, and before the ſurrender of the iſland, met the Britiſh fleet; and from the intelligence brought by them, the admiral was led to believe that the naval force at Grenada, under the count d'Eſtaing, was inferior to his own: From the ſame ſource of intelligence he alſo learned that lord Macartney expected to be able to hold out for a fortnight. Admiral Byron's fleet, excluſive of tranſports, conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, and one frigate; the count d'Eſtaing's force was repreſented to be between fourteen and nineteen ſhips of the line; and under the influence of this intelligence, which afterwards appeared to be erroneous, the admiral made his ſubſequent arrangements for the attack of the French fleet. On the evening of the fifth of July the Britiſh fleet being ſo near that it muſt neceſſarily be in ſight of Grenada on the following morning, the ſhips of war were drawn from amongſt the tranſports, and theſe were left to windward under the care of rear-admiral Rowley, with three ſhips of the line, who had, nevertheleſs, orders to quit the tranſports and join the reſt of the fleet whenever on the following morning a ſignal for that purpoſe ſhould be made. The van diviſion of the Britiſh fleet was commanded by admiral Barrington, in the Prince of Wales; the centre diviſion by admiral Byron, in the Princeſs Royal; and the rear by admiral Hyde Parker, in the Conqueror. In this order they ſailed during the night; and at dawn of day the following morning were in ſight of Grenada and the French fleet. One of the count d'Eſtaing's frigates had brought him intelligence, during the night, of the approach of admiral Byron, and he, in conſequence of this intelligence, had given orders for his fleet to get under way by daylight in the morning; ſo that when the French fleet was firſt deſcried by admiral Byron, part of it was already under ſail, and the reſt in a cluſter getting under way as faſt as they could, a ſituation in which it was impoſſible to aſcertain their number. A ſignal was immediately thrown out for a general chaſe towards the quarter where the French fleet lay, another for rear-admiral Rowley to quit the tranſports and join, and ſoon afterwards a third for a cloſe engagement; the ſhips to fall in and form the line as they got up. As the Britiſh fleet bore down, that of the count d'Eſtaing ſtretched out from the land, and formed a line to leeward. Its great ſuperiority was now perceptible; but if in conſequence of this diſcovery any alteration had been neceſſary in the diſpoſition of the Britiſh fleet, it was now too late to make it, as ſeveral of the advanced ſhips were already engaged. Admiral Barrington in the Prince of Wales, captain Sawyer in the Boyne, and captain Gardner in the Sultan, preſſing forward with that ardour which has at all times diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh naval ſervice, had ſoon cloſed with the enemy's fleet, and brought it to action, bravely ſuſtaining their ſpirited attack until they were joined by their companions. To ſuccour theſe advanced ſhips, and, if poſſible, to make the action deciſive, the ſame ſignals were ſtill continued. But it was not the count d'Eſtaing's intention, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of his force, to riſk the fate of Grenada upon the uncertain iſſue of a cloſe engagement with an enemy, which, though inferior in number, was formidable enough to create apprehenſion; he therefere kept his fleet at a cautious diſtance, whenever the action had the appearance of becoming general, and cloſed only when ſingle ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, in conſequence of their advanced ſituation, were expoſed to the fire of ſeveral of his own. His ſhips, too, being cleaner than thoſe of admiral Byron, he had it too much in his power to increaſe or diminiſh his diſtance as it ſuited his purpoſe; whence it happened that ſome of the Britiſh ſhips were much diſabled, whilſt others were little injured, and ſome few not at all engaged. The three ſhips already mentioned, which commenced the action, ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and loſt a number of men: The brave admiral Barrington was amongſt the wounded. The Grafton, captain Collingwood, the Cornwall, captain Edwards, and the Lion, captain Cornwallis, happening during ſome part of the action to be to leeward of the Britiſh line, ſuſtained the whole fire of the French fleet as it paſſed, and were greatly diſabled; as was the Monmouth, captain Fanſhawe, who gallantly bore down to ſtop the van of the enemy, and bring them to cloſe action. The Britiſh admiral ſeeing the diſabled condition of ſo many of his ſhips, hauled down the ſignal for chaſe, but continued that for cloſe action; keeping at the ſame time to windward, and forming his line as well as circumſtances would permit, to prevent the enemy from doubling upon him, and cutting him off from his tranſports, an intention which ſome of their movements plainly indicated. The deſign of the count d'Eſtaing againſt the tranſports being thus fruſtrated, he tacked to the ſouthward with his whole fleet about three in the afternoon. The Britiſh admiral inſtantly did the ſame, that he might be in readineſs to protect the

Grafton, Cornwall, and Lion, three of his diſabled ſhips, which were far aſtern, and the laſt of them greatly to leeward. The Lion had loſt ſome of her maſts, and her ſails and rigging were ſo much cut to pieces that captain Cornwallis found it impoſſible to beat to windward: As ſoon, therefore, as the French fleet had tacked, and appeared to ſtand towards him, he bore away before the wind, and went with all the ſail he could ſet to the weſtward. The other two ſhips ſtood for the Britiſh fleet, and from the extreme caution of the count d'Eſtaing, were fortunate enough to rejoin it: So ſtudiouſly did he avoid every thing which could lead to a cloſe engagement, that he made no effort to intercept them, although it was apparently much in his power. Night at laſt put an end to the action, the French fleet being then about three miles to leeward.

At the time when the Britiſh fleet in the morning was neareſt to the town of St. George, the white flag was ſeen flying on the fort and the different batteries, an appearance which left no doubt in the mind of the Britiſh admiral that the French were already in poſſeſſion of the iſland; and as in the preſent crippled ſtate of his fleet nothing effectual could be done for recovering it, he ſent orders in the evening to the tranſports to make the beſt of their way to St. Chriſtopher's, whilſt he with the ſhips of war ſhould keep between them and the enemy. And the Monmouth, which had ſuffered ſo much as to ſtand in need of immediate repair, was ordered to the ſame place. As the French fleet was only three miles to leeward at the cloſe of the engagement in the evening; and as the count d'Eſtaing during the action muſt have clearly perceived his great ſuperiority over the Britiſh fleet in point of number; admiral Byron expected to have been attacked as ſoon as day-light appeared in the morning; but in the morning the French fleet was not to be ſeen. It had returned during the night to Grenada: And as nothing farther could at preſent be attempted for the recovery of the iſland, the Britiſh admiral followed

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lowed the tranſports to St. Chriſtopher's, in order to refit his diſabled ſhips. The Lion, which we have mentioned to have ſtood to the weſtward at the time when the French fleet tacked on the day of the engagement, was ſo entirely diſabled, that captain Cornwallis was obliged to bear away for Jamaica to get her damage repaired. In maſts, ſails, and rigging, the damage done to the Britiſh fleet was great; but in men the loſs of the French was beyond all compariſon greater. Endeavours were uſed to conceal it; but the beſt accounts made it amount to one thouſand two hundred killed, including twenty-one officers, and nearly two thouſand wounded; whereas the loſs on board the Britiſh fleet amounted only to four officers and one hundred and ſeventy-nine men killed, and the ſame number of officers and three hundred and forty-two men wounded*.

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* Return of killed and wounded on board Admiral Byron's Fleet, the 6th of July 1779, in the Action with the French Fleet off Grenada.

	Ships.	Commanders.	Men.	Guns.	Killed.	Wounded.
Van Diviſion.	1. Suffolk	Rear Admiral Rowley Captain Chriſtian	617	74	7	25
	2. Boyne	Captain Sawyer	520	68	12	30
	3. Royal Oak	Captain Fitzherbert	600	74	4	12
	4. Prince of Wales	Vice Admiral Barrington Captain Hill	617	74	26	46
	5. Magnificent	Captain Elphinſton	600	74	8	11
	6. Trident	Captain Molloy	500	64	3	6
	7. Medway	Captain Affleck	420	60	—	4
Centre.	8. Fame	Captain Butchart	600	74	4	9
	9. Nonſuch	Captain Griffith	500	64	—	—
	10. Sultan	Captain Gardner	600	74	16	39
	11. Princeſs Royal	Admiral Byron Captain Blair	770	90	3	6
	12. Albion	Captain Bowyer	600	74	—	2
	13. Stirling Caſtle	Captain Carkett	500	64	2	6
	14. Eliſabeth	Captain Truſcott	600	74	1	2
Rear.	15. Yarmouth	Captain Bateman	500	64	—	—
	16. Lion	Captain Cornwallis	500	64	21	30
	17. Vigilant	Sir Digby Dent	500	64	—	—
	18. Conqueror	Rear Admiral Parker Captain Harmood	617	74	—	—
	19. Cornwall	Captain Edwards	600	74	16	27
	20. Monmouth	Captain Fanſhawe	500	64	25	28
	21. Grafton	Captain Collingwood	600	74	35	63
					183	346

The iſland of Grenada having been ſurrendered at diſcretion, the governor, garriſon, and inhabitants, were ſubjected to the will of the conqueror, except ſo far as the law of nations, independent of all poſitive ſtipulation, impoſed limits to his authority. But even theſe, it is ſaid, were ſhamefully tranſgreſſed; and the inhabitants experienced all the rigorous oppreſſion and ſeverity which flow from uncontrolled power, when exerciſed by an unfeeling and unprincipled deſpot.

CHAP. XXVIII.

General Alarm throughout the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands—Quieted by the Departure of Count d'Eſtaing to Hiſpaniola—Reduction of Sunbury in Georgia—Colonel Campbell's Expedition to Auguſta—Circuit for the Encouragement of the Loyaliſts performed by Colonel Hamilton— Colonel Hamilton quits Auguſta and returns to Savannah—Attempt of General Lincoln to ſtraiten the Britiſh Quarters—Fruſtrated by Colonel Prevoſt—Unſucceſsful Attempt of General Prevoſt on Charleſtown—General Prevoſt retires from Charleſtown, and takes Poſt at John's Iſland.

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General alarm throughout the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands,

THE balance of conqueſts in the Weſt Indies was now greatly in favour of the French; St. Lucie, the only Britiſh acquiſition, being but a poor recompence for the loſs of Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Grenada; and the great ſuperiority of the French fleet in that quarter threatened to make the balance ſtill greater, and filled the inhabitants of the remaining Britiſh Weſt India poſſeſſions with general alarm and apprehenſion. But the approach of the hurricane ſeaſon, added to the loſs of men in the laſt action, ſet bounds for the preſent to the ambitious projects of the count d'Eſtaing. After remaining ſome time at Grenada, for the purpoſe of ſettling the government, he ſailed with his fleet for Cape François, in Hiſpaniola. And here we ſhall leave him, in order to reſume the relation of ſuch events as happened on the American continent ſince the commencement of the preſent year.

quieted by the departure of count d'Eſtaing to Hiſpaniola.

The

1779. Events on the North American continent.

The rigour of winter ſuſpended all military operations between the two great armies in the province of New York, until the return of ſpring; but in the more ſoutherly climate of Georgia, the winter is the propereſt ſeaſon for action, and in this laſt province it may be remembered that lieutenant-colonel Campbell began his victorious career as late as the end of December. We left him, after he had defeated the provincials, and driven them acroſs the Savannah into South Carolina, receiving the inhabitants of Georgia under the protection of Great Britain, forming them into military corps for their own defence, and framing other regulations for the future peace and ſecurity of the province. He had alſo projected, and was making preparations for proceeding on an expedition up the Savannah to Auguſta, the principal town in the interior part of the province, as ſoon as the arrival of general Prevoſt ſhould enable him to undertake it. That general had met with many difficulties and delays in his march towards Georgia, from the want of horſes and carriages to tranſport his artillery, ammunition, baggage, and proviſions. Theſe were carried in open boats, through the different inland water-courſes, with which the ſea-coaſt of Eaſt Florida, as well as Georgia and the Carolinas, every-where abounds; and the boats were frequently obliged to make large circuits, in order to avoid the enemy's gallies. During theſe circuits the troops, for want of other proviſions, were ſometimes obliged to ſubſiſt for ſeveral days together on oyſters, which the inlets from the ſea fortunately afforded. At laſt, however, they penetrated into Georgia, and reached Sunbury about the beginning of January, the fort of which they immediately inveſted, being the only place of ſtrength remaining in the poſſeſſion of the Americans in the lower parts of the province. Lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, the brother of the general, by making a forced march with part of the troops, had previouſly ſurrounded it to prevent the garriſon from eſcaping, the commander of which at firſt ſeemed

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1779. Reduction of Sunbury in Georgia.

ſeemed determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance; but after trenches were opened, and ſome pieces of artillery had been brought up, he thought fit, on the ninth of January, to ſurrender the fort at diſcretion, with upwards of forty pieces of ordnance, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition*; an acquiſition made with the loſs of only one man killed and three wounded. The loſs of the garriſon in killed and wounded was equally inconſiderable; but the ſurvivors, amounting to two hundred and twelve, were made priſoners of war. General Prevoſt, after the reduction of Sunbury, proceeded to Savannah, where he arrived about the middle of January; and as ſoon afterwards as the neceſſary arrangements were completed, lieutenant-colonel Campbell ſet out on his expedition to Auguſta.

In war much depends upon the promptitude with which a commander ſeizes and improves thoſe opportunities of action that are preſented by fortuitous circumſtances. This obſervation has been already exemplified in the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, on the day on which he defeated the American troops before Savannah, with ſo little loſs on his own ſide; and it is further verified by all the proceedings of this officer during his command. Had he not commenced his operations at the critical moment when he did commence them, without waiting for the junction of general Prevoſt, and had he not improved his firſt ſucceſs by rapidly purſuing the enemy after their defeat, until they were finally driven out of the province, it is probable that the conqueſt of even the lower parts of Georgia, inſtead of being effected in leſs than ten days, might have been a work not only of time, but of difficulty; as a large reinforcement was haſtening towards it, which reached the northern banks of the Savannah juſt in time to collect the ſcattered remains of the American general How's defeated army.

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* Artillery, Stores, &c. taken at Sunbury in Georgia, in January 1779, when the Fort was ſurrendered to General Prevoſt.

24 pieces of braſs ordnance
1 braſs ſeven-inch mortar
20 pieces of iron ordnance
824 round ſhot of different ſizes
100 caſe and grape ſhot, 30 ſhells, 50 hand grenades
180 muſkets with bayonets, 12 rifles, 40 fuſees and carbines, and 4 wall pieces
3004 muſket cartridges, 500 carbine ditto
150 muſket ball, 1,800 cwt. lead in pigs
28 powder barrels
400 muſket flints
150 cartridge boxes, 72 pouches with powder horns
30 claw handſpikes with ladles, wad-hooks, and ſpunges.

The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia, with a view to the conqueſt of Eaſt Florida, had ſolicited the congreſs to appoint general Lincoln to the command of the troops to the ſouthward. That officer was the ſecond in command in the army which captured general Burgoyne, a circumſtance which of itſelf was ſufficient to give him eclat. But his judicious, brave, and ſpirited conduct on the occaſion, gave him ſtill better pretenſions to fame, and entitled him, in the opinion of the Americans, to no ſmall ſhare in the glory of the atchievement. He was, in September of the laſt year, appointed by congreſs to the command of the ſouthern army, and arrived at Charleſtown in South Carolina about the beginning of December.

Long before Lincoln's arrival at Charleſtown, general Waſhington, through his ſpies at New York, had received intelligence of the intended expedition againſt Georgia; and as ſoon as this information was conveyed to the ſouthward, the provincial government of North Carolina, with a deciſion which did them credit, embodied two thouſand of their militia to ſerve for five months, and without delay ſent them on to Charleſtown, under the command of generals Aſhe and Rutherford, where they were to be provided with arms. Theſe troops arrived in time at Charleſtown to have reached general How at Savannah before he was attacked, had they been immediately furniſhed with arms. But the government of South Carolina refuſed to ſupply them, until it was finally aſcertained by the proceedings of the Britiſh, that Georgia, and not South Carolina, was the object of their expedition. The reinforcement which we have already mentioned to have met general How, as ſoon as he had croſſed the Savannah, conſiſted of a detachment of theſe troops, with two regular regiments from Charleſtown, amounting in the whole to nine hundred and fifty men; and with theſe and the remains of the Georgia army, general Lincoln, on the third of January, eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Puryſburg, on the north ſide of the river, about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah.

Colonel Campbell's expedition to Auguſta in Georgia.

The inhabitants of ſeveral of the interior counties of North Carolina were known to be well affected to the Britiſh government. The expedition up the Savannah, the courſe of which led towards theſe inhabitants, had, therefore, a double object, and was intended to open and eſtabliſh a communication with them, as well as to reduce the remaining part of Georgia. Auguſta, the ſecond town in Georgia, lies upon the ſouthern bank of the river Savannah, and is diſtant from the ſea-coaſt about one hundred and fifty miles. The previous arrangements neceſſary for marching through ſuch an extent of country, in many places thinly, and in ſome not at all inhabited, were ſo well adjuſted by lieutenant-colonel Campbell, that he met with few interruptions, except ſuch as aroſe from the water-courſes in his way, the bridges over which were in moſt places deſtroyed. Upon his approach to Auguſta, a body of provincials, under the command of brigadier-general Williamſon, quitted the town, and retreated acroſs the river. Here, as well as at Savannah, the inhabitants flocked in, took the oath of allegiance, and, for their own defence, were formed into companies, under officers of their own choice. From Auguſta lieutenant-colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment was detached towards the frontiers of Georgia, with two hundred infantry, mounted on horſeback, to encourage ſuch of the inhabitants as were attached to the Britiſh government, and to diſarm the diſaffected. In his progreſs he ſoon diſcovered that,

Circuit for the encouragement of the loyaliſts, performed by colonel Hamilton.

that, although many of the people came in to take the oath of allegiance, the profeſſions of a conſiderable number were not to be depended upon; and that ſome came in only for the purpoſe of gaining information of his ſtrength and future deſigns. In various quarters he met with oppoſition; and all their places of ſtrength held out until they were reduced. The reduction of moſt of theſe was not, however, a work of great difficulty, as they conſiſted only of ſtockade forts, calculated for defence againſt the Indians. At laſt, having nearly completed his circuit, he was attacked by a colonel Pickens, with five hundred militia, who had marched againſt him from the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, in the province of South Carolina; but the militia were ſoon repulſed and obliged to fly. The bodies of nine or ten who had been killed in the action were afterwards found in the woods covered with leaves; their wounded they carried off. During the progreſs of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, a number of loyaliſts in the interior parts of North Carolina had embodied themſelves under a colonel Boyd, and attempted to force their way into Georgia, and form a junction with the Britiſh troops. It was to oppoſe theſe, as well as to check colonel Hamilton's progreſs, that colonel Pickens had aſſembled his militia; and finding that he could make no impreſſion upon the latter, he turned his arms againſt the loyaliſts, who had by this time forced a paſſage acroſs the Savannah in the face of a detachment which he had left to oppoſe them. He came up with them at Kettle Creek, and an engagement enſued, in which the loyaliſts, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were defeated with the loſs of their commander, colonel Boyd, and a conſiderable number killed and wounded. About three hundred of them, by keeping together, afterwards found means to join the Britiſh army. The reſt were diſperſed, ſome flying back to North Carolina, and others into South Carolina, where they threw themſelves upon the mercy of their countrymen. Of thoſe who fled into South Carolina, ſeventy were tried and convicted of treaſon againſt the new government, but five only were put to death.

February.

Colonel Campbell quits Auguſta, and returns to Savannah.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell having received orders to retreat from Auguſta, recalled the detachment from the frontiers, and about the middle of February retired down the Savannah by eaſy marches until he reached Hudſon's Ferry, about twenty-four miles above Ebenezer, now the head-quarters of the army. At Hudſon's Ferry he left the advance of the army under the command of lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, and returned to Savannah, to eſtabliſh ſome civil regulations in the province, previous to his departure for England, which took place ſoon afterwards.

The poſt at Auguſta was found too diſtant to be ſupported; for as the Britiſh troops extended themſelves along the ſouthern banks of the Savannah, the provincials did the ſame on the oppoſite ſide; and general Lincoln, whoſe force was every day increaſing, had not only eſtabliſhed ſeveral poſts in force on the north ſide of the river, but was alſo enabled to detach general Aſhe, with one thouſand five hundred militia, and ſome regular troops, to ſtrengthen the provincial poſt oppoſite to Auguſta, and to improve any opportunity which might offer for croſſing the river, in order to ſtraiten the Britiſh quarters. General Aſhe, upon his arrival at the poſt oppoſite to Auguſta, found that town already evacuated by the Britiſh troops, who had retired down the river: He therefore, in purſuance of his orders, croſſed the river, and followed them as far as Brier Creek, behind which he took poſt, about thirteen miles above Hudſon's Ferry.

Attempt of general Lincoln to ſtraiten the Britiſh quarters

General Lincoln was now forming a plan in concert with general Aſhe, for confining the Britiſh troops within ſtill narrower limits; but before he could carry it into execution, lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, with a detachment conſiſting of three grenadier companies of the ſixtieth regiment, ſir James Baird's light-infantry, the ſecond battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, captain Tawes's provincial troop of light dragoons, and ſome rangers and militia, amounting in the whole to nine hundred men, by making a circuit, and croſſing Brier Creek fifteen miles above the place where general Aſhe was encamped, found means to get into his rear unperceived; and whilſt major Macpherſon, with the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and ſome irregulars, with two field-pieces, appeared in front of the Americans, in order to draw their attention that way, they were on the third of March attacked in the oppoſite quarter by lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt, and totally routed and diſperſed, with the loſs of ſeven pieces of cannon, ſeveral ſtand of colours, almoſt all their arms, and the whole of their ammunition and baggage. About one hundred and fifty of the enemy fell in the field of action and in the purſuit; twenty-ſeven officers, including brigadier-general Elbert, the ſecond in command, with two hundred men, were made priſoners; and a much greater number periſhed in the river endeavouring to make their eſcape. Of thoſe who did eſcape, many returned home: And of the whole detachment under general Aſhe, which was ſuppoſed to exceed two thouſand men, only four hundred and fifty rejoined general Lincoln. The loſs of the Britiſh troops amounted only to five private ſoldiers killed, and one officer and ten privates wounded. The plan of this ſurpriſe was well imagined, and the execution admirably conducted; and both ſerve to exhibit in a very ſuperior point of view the military talents of lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt. In conſequence of this ſignal victory, the communication was again opened between the Britiſh poſts and the frontier ſettlements.

fruſtrated by colonel Prevoſt.

In the mean time a new governor was elected for South Carolina, and to him and his council were delegated powers almoſt dictatorial for the defence of the province. In conſequence of the rigorous exerciſe of thoſe powers, the army under general Lincoln was ſoon after-

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afterwards reinforced with a body of one thouſand militia; and this reinforcement enabled him to reſume his former deſign of entering Georgia by the way of Auguſta, in order to interrupt the communication which lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt's victory had opened: He had alſo another powerful motive for marching towards that place at preſent, which was to protect the provincial delegates for Georgia, who had agreed to meet and hold a convention at Auguſta in the month of May. General Lincoln's force now amounted to five thouſand men: Of theſe he left about one thouſand to garriſon Puryſburg and Black Swamp, the former of theſe places under the command of colonel Macintoſh, and the latter under general Moultrie; and with the reſt, on the twenty-third of April, he began his march up the Savannah. Five days after his departure general Prevoſt, with a view of obliging him to return, paſſed over the greateſt part of his army into South Carolina. The American poſts at Puryſburg and Black Swamp were immediately abandoned; and general Moultrie, unable to withſtand the force to which he was oppoſed, retreated haſtily towards Charleſtown, deſtroying all the bridges in his rear as he paſſed them. Expreſſes were immediately diſpatched after general Lincoln; but he concluded that the irruption of the Britiſh troops into South Carolina was only a feint to divert him from his principal object, and unmoved proceeded on his march, after detaching three hundred choſen troops to reinforce general Moultrie. The Britiſh general's original intention was no other than what Lincoln ſuppoſed; but meeting with ſcarcely any oppoſition or impediment in his progreſs, except what aroſe from the deſtruction of the bridges, and receiving at the ſame time information of the defenceleſs ſtate of Charleſtown on that ſide on which he would approach it, he began to cheriſh the hope of being able to reduce it before general Lincoln could come to its relief; and the farther he advanced, his expectations became the more ſanguine,

guine, in conſequence of the general ſcope of the intelligence received from the inhabitants of the province, who joined him on his march.

At Charleſtown all was buſtle and confuſion; and the inhabitants were for ſome time in a ſtate of the moſt anxious ſuſpenſe, between the hope of being relieved by general Lincoln, to whom expreſſes were daily ſent, and the fear of being attacked before his return. Charleſtown ſtands upon a point of land between the rivers Aſhley and Cooper, which uniting juſt below it, and incloſing the town between them, form a bay, opening into the ſea, at the diſtance of ſome miles eaſtward. Towards the bay, and the rivers on each ſide, batteries had been erected, as in theſe quarters the town was expoſed to an attack from a naval force; but towards the land ſide ſcarcely any precautions had been taken for its defence, as on that ſide they had hitherto apprehended no danger. It was in this quarter, however, that at preſent all their danger lay; and the greateſt efforts were made to put it into ſome tolerable ſtate of defence. The ſlaves, with which South Carolina abounds, were now of the greateſt uſe. The houſes in the ſuburbs being burnt down, and an immenſe number of ſlaves being employed, lines and abbatis were in a few days carried acroſs from Aſhley to Cooper River, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals. Fort Johnſton, on the ſouth ſide of the bay, as being at preſent of no uſe, was diſmantled, and the garriſon withdrawn to Charleſtown. General Moultrie, with the remains of his retreating army, entered the town, governor Rutlege arrived with a body of militia from the interior country, and colonel Harris with the three hundred light troops detached by general Lincoln. Count Pulaſki too, with his legion, croſſed Cooper River to Charleſtown the ſame day on which it was inveſted by general Prevoſt. The arrival of theſe different reinforcements all nearly about the ſame time, infuſed ſome ſpirit into the inhabitants, and encouraged

raged them to ſtand upon their defence. If numbers could give them confidence, they had indeed every reaſon to expect ſucceſs; as, in conſequence of theſe reinforcements, the garriſon exceeded general Prevoſt's army in number by at leaſt one third.

May. Unſucceſsful attempt of general Prevoſt on Charleſtown.

On the tenth of May, in the evening, the Britiſh troops reached Aſhley Ferry, and, having paſſed the river, appeared before the lines at Charleſtown on the following day, the remainder of which was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes of little moment. On the twelfth the town was ſummoned to ſurrender; and favourable terms of capitulation were offered, which however were rejected. But as it was of conſequence to the garriſon and the people of the town to gain as much time as poſſible, things were ſo contrived that the whole day was ſpent in ſending and receiving meſſages; in the courſe of which a propoſal was made on their part for the neutrality of the province during the war, and that at the end of the war its fate ſhould be determined by the treaty of peace. But after various meſſages and explanations of this propoſal, it was utterly rejected by general Prevoſt; and the commiſſioners from the town were told, that as the garriſon was in arms, they muſt ſurrender as priſoners of war. This declaration put an end to the negotiation; and the inhabitants of the town now expected nothing elſe than an aſſault. But on the following morning they were agreeably ſurpriſed when they found that the Britiſh troops had been withdrawn during the night, and had re-croſſed Aſhley Ferry. After taking a view of the lines at Charleſtown, general Prevoſt was convinced, that, although unfiniſhed, they were not to be forced without ſuch a loſs of men as he could not ſpare. He alſo knew that the garriſon, reinforced as it had been, was now more numerous than the troops which he had to lead againſt it *; and that general Lincoln was by this time haſtening to its relief

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* General Prevoſt's force was about 2400 men; the garriſon 3300, including militia.

from the back country, with a force ſtill greater. The Britiſh general was therefore, at laſt, prudent enough to retire, although with that loſs of credit which ariſes from making an abortive attempt, the original deſign of which appears to have been unwiſe, and the means uſed to accompliſh it incompetent and ineffectual. If general Prevoſt had not a ſufficient force to maintain the poſt at Auguſta, and preſerve the proper communications with it; that force was ſtill leſs adequate to garriſon Charleſtown, even if he had taken it, and at the ſame time preſerve a communication with Georgia, or indeed leave a ſufficient force for its defence. But if this conſideration had been out of the queſtion, he had not with him a train of artillery ſufficient to cover an aſſault.

The Britiſh troops having croſſed Aſhley River, after foraging for ſome days, retired towards the ſea-coaſt; which, being interſected by a chain of inland water-courſes, leading all the way to the Savannah River, afforded them, in conſequence of their ſhipping, not only the eaſieſt, but the ſafeſt means of effecting their retreat to Georgia, and tranſporting their baggage, unmoleſted. From the main land they paſſed to James Iſland, and from thence to John's Iſland, where they took poſt until the arrival of a ſupply of ammunition, which had for ſome time been expected from New York.

In the mean time general Lincoln had proceeded as far as Auguſta, notwithſtanding the intelligence he received of general Prevoſt's irruption into South Carolina. But whilſt he remained at this place, the daily expreſſes which arrived from Charleſtown, with information of the rapid progreſs of the Britiſh troops, ſoon convinced him that ſomething more was now intended by this irruption, than a mere feint: And after eſtabliſhing a poſt at Auguſta, and marching for three days down the ſouth ſide of the river Savannah, a route which was preferred, as the diſtance was nearly the ſame, for the

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the purpoſe of diſplaying his force, and reanimating the almoſt deſponding hopes of ſuch of the inhabitants of Georgia as were ſtill attached to the American cauſe, he re-croſſed the Savannah, and returned with haſty marches towards Charleſtown, until he reached Dorcheſter, at the entrance of what is called Charleſtown Neck; and here he eſtabliſhed his head-quarters, until the Britiſh troops retired from Aſhley Ferry towards the ſea-coaſt.

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General Prevoſt departs from John's Iſland to Savannah—Succeeded in the Command at John's Iſland by Lieutenaut Colonel Maitland—Britiſh Troops under Colonel Maitland attacked by General Lincoln—The Americans repulſed—General Prevoſt having eſtabliſhed a Poſt in the Iſland of Port Royal, retires with the reſt of the Army to Georgia.

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JOHN's Iſland, of which general Prevoſt had taken poſſeſſion, is ſeparated from the main land by an inlet to which has been given the name of Stono River; and the communication between the one and the other is preſerved by a ferry. Upon the main land, at this ferry, a poſt was eſtabliſhed, as well for the ſecurity of the iſland as for the protection of the Britiſh foraging parties; which was thought of ſo much conſequence, that for ſome time the garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred men under the command of lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt. For the defence of this poſt in front, three redoubts were thrown up, which were joined by lines of communication; and its rear was covered by Stono Inlet, acroſs which, to John's Iſland, a kind of bridge was formed by the numerous ſloops, ſchooners, and other ſmaller veſſels that attended the army.

Although it was neither the intereſt nor inclination of Lincoln to riſque a general engagement with the Britiſh troops, it was obviouſly his wiſh to attack their out-poſts, and cut them off in detail. With this view, on the fourth of June, he appeared with his army in front of the poſt at Stono Ferry; but, after viewing the lines,

thought

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thought proper to retire. Not long afterwards, on the ſixteenth of June, lieutenant-colonel Prevoſt departed for Savannah, carrying with him the grenadiers of the ſixtieth regiment, and all the veſſels which had formed the bridge of communication except an armed flat, capable of containing twenty men. About this time it ſeems to have been determined to evacuate the poſt; and upon lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who at Prevoſt's departure was appointed to ſucceed him in the command, devolved the care of conducting that ſervice which the injudicious conduct of his predeceſſor, in carrying away the veſſels that preſerved the communication with John's Iſland, had rendered both difficult and dangerous. But every thing was done which could be expected from the zeal, ability, and experience of this diſtinguiſhed officer. The ſeventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth days of June were employed in tranſporting acroſs the inlet the ſick and wounded, the negroes and Indians, with the baggage and horſes belonging to the garriſon, and in deſtroying all unneceſſary huts and buildings, and putting the poſt in a proper ſtate of defence againſt a ſudden attack. Such precautionary meaſures had become the more neceſſary in conſequence of the preſent feeble ſtate of the garriſon, which conſiſted of the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, much weakened and reduced in its numbers, part of a Heſſian regiment, part of the North and South Carolina regiments of provincials, and a detachment of artillery, the whole not much exceeding five hundred men, really effective, and fit for duty. The weak ſtate of the garriſon, which was not unknown to general Lincoln, tempted him to renew his deſign of cutting it off; and on the twentieth of June he advanced againſt it with a force conſiſting of two brigades of continental troops, a corps of light-infantry, ſeveral regiments of North and South Carolina militia, and a detachment of artillery with eight pieces of cannon, the whole eſtimated by general Prevoſt, in his official letter, at five thouſand men.

British troops under colonel Maitland attacked by general Lincoln.

An attack made upon the Britiſh picquets advanced a conſiderable diſtance in front of the works, about ſeven in the morning, which was attended with a ſmart firing of muſketry, gave the firſt alarm to lieutenant-colonel Maitland. The garriſon was immediately ordered under arms, and two companies of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, under the command of captain Campbell, were ſent out on the right to feel the ſtrength of the enemy. The highlanders are not the beſt qualified for ſuch a ſervice: Their impetuoſity is apt to hurry them on too far, and their obſtinate bravery indiſpoſes them to retreat until it is often too late; and ſo it happened on the preſent occaſion. This detachment had proceeded only a little more than a quarter of a mile when it fell in with the left wing of the provincial army already formed: An engagement immediately commenced, which was ſo obſtinately maintained by the highlanders againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of force, that they did not retreat until all their officers were either killed or wounded; and of the two companies, only eleven men were able to make good their retreat. The whole provincial line now advanced within three hundred yards of the works, and a general engagement began with cannon and muſketry, which was ſupported by the provincials with more than uſual firmneſs. The fierce attack made by the highlanders upon their left, inſtead of intimidating, ſeemed to have animated them to copy their brave example. A regiment of Heſſians on the left of the Britiſh line unfortunately gave way, and the provincials preſſing forward, had already reached the abbatis of the works. At this critical juncture a judicious and rapid movement of part of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, which was ordered from the right to the left of the Britiſh line, ſtopped the progreſs of the Americans, and reſtored the fortune of the day. By the great exertions of lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and the officers in general, the Heſſians were rallied and again brought into action. The provincials were, in their turn, now obliged to retreat; but they retreated in good

The Americans repulſed.

good order, carrying with them ſome of their killed and all their wounded. The horſes belonging to the garriſon had, in the view of its evacuation, been tranſported to John's Iſland before the day of the attack, ſo that no purſuit could be made. The whole loſs of the Britiſh troops in this day's action amounted to one hundred and twenty-nine: Of theſe, three officers and twenty-three men were killed, and ten officers and ninety-three men wounded, one only being miſſing. The loſs of the provincials does not appear ever to have been publiſhed, and perhaps never was fully aſcertained. A liſt of their killed and wounded officers, however, has been publiſhed, amounting to twenty-ſix, juſt double the number of Britiſh officers who were killed or wounded: And if we ſuppoſe the loſs of men in proportion to officers, to have been nearly the ſame on both ſides, we ſhall have reaſon to conclude, that the whole loſs of the provincials in killed and wounded did not much fall ſhort of three hundred men. The greateſt praiſe was due to lieutenant-colonel Maitland for the ſucceſsful defence of his poſt, with a handful of men, againſt a force ſo ſuperior, in which he was bravely ſupported by all the officers of the garriſon. Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton of the North Carolina regiment, and majors M'Arthur, Fraſer, and Skelly, in a particular manner diſtinguiſhed themſelves. The artillery was moſt excellently ſerved, and did great execution under the direction of captain Fairlamb, and lieutenants Wilſon and Wallace, all of whom were wounded, and the latter ſo ſeverely, that he died a few days after. It would be endleſs to point out the merits of all who were entitled to praiſe; but the ſingular gallantry of an action performed by captain Moncrieff of the engineers in the ſight of both armies cannot be omitted. That officer was on John's Iſland with the troops under general Prevoſt at the commencement of the action; but as ſoon as the firing was heard, he rode in all haſte to Stono Ferry, and croſſing over, contributed by his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, during the remainder of the action, to the ſucceſs of the day. With twenty men only he ſallied out in the face of the whole provincial army, took an ammunition waggon, and brought it ſafe within the lines. This was a moſt ſeaſonable ſupply of what was greatly wanted; for ſuch was the ſcarcity of ammunition in the Britiſh garriſon, that the laſt charges were in the guns when the provincials gave way. The troops on John's Iſland were put in motion by general Prevoſt as ſoon as he received intelligence of the attack, but they did not arrive at Stono Ferry in time to take any part in the action. The appearance of a reinforcement coming to the aſſiſtance of the garriſon, might, nevertheleſs, have contributed to damp the ardour of the Americans and haſten their repulſe.

General Prevoſt, having eſtabliſhed a poſt in the iſland of Port Royal, retires with the reſt of the army to Georgia.

The militia under general Lincoln were diſheartened by this unſucceſsful attack; and the greateſt part of them ſoon afterwards quitted the army and returned home. The Britiſh troops were no farther moleſted: The poſt at Stono Ferry was evacuated; and the army retiring along the ſea-coaſt, paſſed from iſland to iſland until it reached Beaufort in the iſland of Port Royal. At Beaufort general Prevoſt eſtabliſhed a poſt, the garriſon of which he left under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and returned with the reſt of the army to Georgia; that the troops might reſt during the hot and ſickly ſeaſon, which in this ſouthern province prevents the operations of an army as effectually, as the rigour of winter does in a more northerly climate. For the ſame reaſon the American army retired to Sheldon; and nothing of any conſequence was attempted by either during the months of July and Auguſt.

The only real advantage gained by this irruption into South Carolina, was a ſupply of proviſions for the troops, the want of which had begun to be felt in Georgia, and the eſtabliſhing a poſt at Beaufort. But the American accounts have charged the army under general

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general Prevoſt with gaining other advantages not of ſo honourable a kind, and with ſuch an appearance of truth, that a regard to impartiality obliges us not to paſs them over unnoticed. By theſe accounts they have been charged with plundering the inhabitants indiſcriminately, and enriching themſelves at their expence; an imputation, if true, of a moſt diſgraceful nature and ruinous tendency, not only to the army, but to the intereſt of the Britiſh nation; as ſuch a rapacious conduct muſt have irritated the inhabitants in general againſt the Britiſh army, and alienated the attachment even of thoſe who were the beſt affected to government.

CHAP. XXX.

The Count d'Eſtaing ſets ſail for the American Continent—and arrives on the Coaſt of Georgia—Efforts Military and Naval for the Preſervation of Savannah—Count d'Eſtaing ſummons Savannah to ſurrender to the Arms of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty—General Prevoſt ſuccoured by Colonel Maitland—The combined Armies of France and America beſiege Savannah—attack the Britiſh Lines—repulſed with conſiderable Loſs—raiſe the Siege—The Campaign to the ſouthward of North America concluded—Campaign in other Parts of the American Continent ſpent in deſultory Operations—Naval Operations of Sir George Collier.

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ALTHOUGH general Prevoſt had been obliged to retire from Charleſtown without reducing it, and although all the upper country of Georgia was now in the poſſeſſion of the Americans; yet ſo long as the Britiſh troops maintained a footing in the lower parts of that province, with a poſt at Beaufort, the inhabitants of South Carolina were expoſed to incurſions ſimilar to that which we have already related, and could not be free from the moſt uneaſy apprehenſions. The poſt at Beaufort in the iſland of Port Royal was ſecure againſt an attack ſo long as the Britiſh maintained their ſuperiority by ſea; and ſo long as that poſt was maintained, general Lincoln could not even occupy his former quarters at Puryſburg, without the danger of being incloſed between the Britiſh troops at Savannah and thoſe at Beaufort. On the other hand, if the Britiſh loſt their ſuperiority by ſea, the ſeparation of their force into two diviſions would render each of them an eaſier conqueſt. Moved by ſuch conſiderations, Rutledge, the governor of South Carolina, Lincoln, the commander of the ſouthern army, and monſieur Plombard, the French conſul at Charleſtown, ſeverally wrote letters to the count d'Eſtaing, who by this time had arrived at Cape François, after the conqueſt of Grenada. In theſe they repreſented to him the ſtate of affairs in the ſouthern provinces, and pointed out the advantages which might be expected, ſhould he, during the hurricane months in the Weſt Indies, viſit the American coaſt with his fleet, and co-operate with general Lincoln in the recovery of Georgia. The count d'Eſtaing, who had diſcretionary orders from his court for ſuch a co-operation, fluſhed with his ſucceſs at Grenada, indulged the ambitious but vain hope of being able, not only to ſweep the American coaſt with his ſuperior fleet, but by acting in conjunction with the provincials to reduce the different poſts occupied by the Britiſh troops within the limits of the revolted provinces, and thereby put an end to the war even during the preſent campaign. To a man who entertained ſuch viſionary projects, the applications from South Carolina, with their propoſals for co-operation, could not fail to be highly acceptable; and they met with his immediate concurrence. Georgia, it was ſuppoſed, would be an eaſy conqueſt, and was, therefore, the fitteſt for the commencement of his victorious career. In compliance with the requiſition which had been made to him, the count d'Eſtaing ſailed forthwith for the American continent, proceeding by the windward paſſage. Two ſhips of the line, with three frigates, were diſpatched as ſoon as he had got through the windward paſſage, to announce his approach to the inhabitants of Charleſtown; and with the reſt of his fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of the line, two ſhips of fifty guns, and eleven frigates, having on board a conſiderable land force, he arrived on the coaſt of Georgia about

The count d'Eſtaing ſets ſail for the American continent,

and arrives on the coaſt of Georgia.

September.

about the beginning of September. So ſudden and unexpected was the count d'Eſtaing's appearance on this part of the American coaſt, that the Experiment of fifty guns, commanded by ſir James Wallace, and two ſtore-ſhips under his convoy, unapprehenſive of danger, had the miſfortune to fall in with the French fleet off the bar of Savannah river, and were of courſe taken, but not till after a deſperate reſiſtance made by the Experiment, although ſhe had been previouſly diſmaſted in a ſtorm. The Ariel of twenty-four guns, which had been on a cruiſe off Charleſtown bar, ſhared the ſame fate.

As ſoon as intelligence of the arrival of count d'Eſtaing reached South Carolina, general Lincoln, with the force which he had then with him, inſtantly marched towards Georgia: Orders were alſo iſſued for aſſembling the militia, who were, with all expedition, to follow general Lincoln; and veſſels of a proper draught of water were diſpatched from Charleſtown to aſſiſt in landing the French troops.

Efforts military and naval for the preſervation of Savannah.

It does not appear that the Britiſh commanders in Georgia were appriſed of the arrival of count d'Eſtaing until the fourth of September, when his whole force, conſiſting of forty-one ſail, was ſeen to the ſouthward of Tybee plying to windward. Information was immediately ſent to general Prevoſt; in conſequence of which, meaſures were taken for increaſing the fortifications at Savannah, and putting the town in a proper poſture of defence. The garriſon at Sunbury, under lieutenant-colonel Cruger, was withdrawn; and orders were diſpatched to Beaufort for lieutenant-colonel Maitland with the troops, and captain Chriſtian of the navy, with the ſhips and gallies under his command, to repair in all haſte to Savannah.

In the mean time, captain Henry, who commanded the Britiſh naval force in the river Savannah, was taking precautions as well for its ſafety as for rendering it ſerviceable in the defence of the town.

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The leading marks upon the ſhore, which point out the channel to ſhips paſſing the bar, were cut down; and the ſquadron under captain Henry, which conſiſted only of the Fowey, Roſe, Keppel armed brig, and Germaine provincial armed ſhip, with ſome gallies, was ſo ſtationed that it might retire with ſafety towards the town of Savannah whenever future circumſtances ſhould render it expedient.

The retreat of this ſmall ſquadron ſoon became a meaſure of abſolute neceſſity. On the ninth of October the French fleet came to an anchor off the bar; and as the line-of-battle ſhips, from their great draught of water, could not paſs it, nor come near the ſhore, the ſmall coaſting veſſels ſent from Charleſtown were employed in receiving the troops from the French ſhips, and landing them at Beaulieu in Oſſabaw Sound, an inlet of the ſea ſome miles ſouth of the mouth of the river Savannah. On the following day four French frigates entered the anchorage ground at Tybee, and rendered it neceſſary for the Britiſh naval force to move up the river to Savannah. Upon its arrival the guns were landed from the ſhips, and mounted on the batteries. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of the ſixtieth regiment; and the ſeamen were put on ſhore to aſſiſt in working the artillery. The Roſe, and Savannah armed ſhip, with four tranſports, were ſunk acroſs the channel below the town, to prevent the French frigates from coming higher; and above it ſome ſmaller veſſels were ſunk, and a boom was laid acroſs to prevent fire-rafts from being ſent down. The Germaine armed brig alone retained her guns; and ſhe was ſtationed off *Yamiraw*, above the town, to flank the right of the Britiſh lines. Theſe diſpoſitions were made on the river, whilſt on ſhore the troops, aſſiſted by ſome hundreds of negroes, were employed in ſtrengthening the old, and erecting new works for the defence of the town.

As ſoon as the debarkation of the French troops was completed, the count d'Eſtaing marched againſt Savannah, and without waiting for a junction with the American army, which was every inſtant expected to come up, ſummoned general Prevoſt to ſurrender the town to the arms of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, diſplaying in his ſummons, in terms bordering on extravagance, the magnitude of his force, and the valour of his troops, who had ſo lately ſtormed the fortifications at Grenada, and in ſo ſhort a time atchieved the conqueſt of that iſland, and threatening to make general Prevoſt anſwerable in his own perſon, ſhould he, after this premonition, wilfully perſiſt in making a fruitleſs defence. This haſty proceeding of the count d'Eſtaing, without waiting for general Lincoln, or joining the American ſtates in the ſummons for a ſurrender, had nearly created a difference between him and his allies. By ſome it was thought to be a plain indication that the French meant to conquer for themſelves; but upon a remonſtrance being afterwards made by general Lincoln, the count d'Eſtaing gave ſuch an explanation of his motives and intentions as was deemed ſatisfactory. General Prevoſt, to whom it was of the utmoſt importance to gain time, returned a civil meſſage to the count d'Eſtaing, acknowledging the receipt of the ſummons, and deſiring twenty-four hours to conſider of an anſwer, and to prepare the terms on which a ſurrender might be made, ſhould that be his ultimate determination. The requeſt was granted without any difficulty; the count d'Eſtaing expecting nothing leſs than a ſurrender of the town at the expiration of the time fixed for an anſwer: But it was made with a very different view by general Prevoſt. He hoped that the troops under lieutenant-colonel Maitland might arrive during the interval; and in this hope he was not diſappointed. That officer, after ſtruggling with difficulties during ſome part of his route, which, to a mind leſs determined, would have appeared inſurmountable, arrived at Savannah before the expiration of the truce, with the beſt part of his detachment, amounting to about eight hundred men. As the French were in poſſeſſion of

General Prevoſt ſuccoured by colonel Maitland.

of all the lower part of the river, he had no other way left of effecting a junction with general Prevoſt but by tranſporting his troops in boats through the marſhes by an inland water-courſe called Wall's Cut, which for two miles was ſo ſhoal, that the men, wading up to their middle, were obliged to drag the boats by main force through the mud. The reſidue of the garriſon at Beaufort, which for want of a ſufficient number of boats could not be tranſported, remained with the ſhips and gallies under the command of captain Chriſtian; and their retreat being now cut off, they took a new poſition in Callibogie Sound, where, by erecting batteries on the ſhore, they made ſuch a ſtrong diſpoſition for defence, that neither the French nor Americans attempted to moleſt them during the ſubſequent ſiege of Savannah.

The ſafe arrival of ſo conſiderable a reinforcement, and that too of choſen troops, but above all, the preſence of the officer who commanded them, in whoſe zeal, ability, and military experience ſo much confidence was deſervedly placed by the army, inſpired the garriſon of Savannah with new animation: An anſwer was returned to the count d'Eſtaing, that the town would be defended to the laſt extremity: The zeal and ardour of both the officers and men were, if poſſible, increaſed; and new defences were daily conſtructed under the judicious eye and maſterly direction of that able engineer, captain Moncrieff.

After the arrival of general Lincoln with the American army, ſome time was required for landing and bringing up the heavy artillery from the ſhips, which, on account of their diſtance from the ſhore, and a ſcarcity of horſes and carriages, was a work of conſiderable labour and difficulty. Retarded by ſuch impediments, the combined armies of French and Americans did not begin to break ground for the purpoſe of carrying on their approaches until the twenty-third of September, nor were their batteries ready to open until the fourth

1779. October. The combined armies of France and America beſiege Savannah.

fourth of the following month. During this interval, attempts were made to interrupt their operations by two different ſorties; the firſt of which, under major Graham of the ſixteenth regiment, reached the lines of the enemy, and threw them into confuſion; and when this detachment retired, it was incautiouſly purſued ſo cloſe to the Britiſh lines, that the confederates in their retreat loſt a great number of men, by a well-directed fire from the works. The other ſortie under major M'Arthur, was ſo artfully conducted, that it produced a firing between the French and American camps.

On the morning of the fourth of October the batteries of the beſiegers having opened with a diſcharge from fifty-three pieces of heavy cannon and fourteen mortars, a requeſt was made by general Prevoſt that the women and children might be permitted to leave the town and embark on board veſſels in the river, which ſhould be placed under the protection of the count d'Eſtaing, and wait the iſſue of the ſiege: But this propoſal, dictated by humanity, was rejected with inſult. Fortunately, however, for the inhabitants as well as the garriſon, although an inceſſant cannonade from ſo many pieces of artillery, was continued from the fourth to the ninth of October, leſs injury was done to the houſes in the town than might have been expected; few lives were loſt, and the defences were in no reſpect materially damaged.

The French troops landed from the ſhips amounted to about five thouſand men, and no doubt being entertained amongſt the Americans of the fall of Savannah, the militia poured in as to a certain triumph, and joined general Lincoln in ſuch numbers, that the combined armies, it is ſaid, amounted to more than ten thouſand men. The force in Savannah, under general Prevoſt, did not exceed two thouſand five hundred of all ſorts, regulars, provincial corps, ſeamen, militia, and volunteers. But the diſparity in numbers was in ſome degree compenſated by the extraordinary zeal and ardour which

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animated the beſieged, from the commander in chief down to the humble African, whoſe inceſſant and cheerful labours, in rearing thoſe numerous defences which were completed with ſo much expedition as to aſtoniſh the beſiegers, ought not to be forgotten in a hiſtory of this memorable ſiege. When the French were firſt landed, not more than ten or twelve pieces of artillery appeared upon the fortifications at Savannah: But ſo inceſſantly did the garriſon labour in ſtrengthening and enlarging the old works, and in erecting new redoubts and batteries, that before the concluſion of the ſiege near one hundred pieces of cannon were mounted.

The town of Savannah being ſituated upon the ſouthern bank of the river of that name, had two of its ſides ſecured by natural boundaries, one by the river behind it, and the other by a thick ſwamp and woody moraſs communicating with the river above the town. The other two ſides were originally open towards the country, which in front of them for ſeveral miles was level and entirely cleared of wood: But they were by this time covered with artificial works, the right and left being defended by redoubts, and the centre by ſeamen's batteries in front, with impalements and traverſes thrown up behind to protect the troops from the fire of the beſiegers; and the whole extent of the works was ſurrounded with an abbatis. The redoubts on the right towards the ſwamp were three in number: That in the centre was garriſoned by two companies of militia, with the North Carolina regiment to ſupport them, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Hamilton. Captains Roworth and Wylie, with the provincial corps of king's rangers, were poſted in the redoubt on the right; and captain Tawſe, with his corps of provincial dragoons diſmounted, in that on the left, called the Springhill Redoubt, ſupported by the South Carolina regiment. To the right of the whole was a ſailors battery of nine-pounders, covered by a company of the Britiſh legion, under the command of captain Stewart; and between the centre and Springhill redoubt, was another of theſe batteries, under the direction of captain Manby, behind which were poſted the grenadiers of the ſixtieth regiment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Glazier with the marines which had been landed from the ſhips of war. And the whole of this force on the right of the lines was under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maitland. On the left of the lines were two redoubts ſtrongly conſtructed with a maſſy frame-work of green ſpongy wood filled up with ſand and mounted with heavy cannon, one of them commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cruger, and the other by major Wright, having under him the Georgia loyaliſts. Behind the impalements and traverſes in the centre of the works were poſted the two battalions of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, two regiments of Heſſians, the New York volunteers, a battalion of Skinner's brigade, one of Delancey's, and the light-infantry of the army under the command of major Graham; all which corps were ready to act as circumſtances ſhould require, and to ſupport any part of the lines that might be attacked.

Such was the ſtate of the works at Savannah, and ſuch the poſition of the troops for its defence, at the time when the count d'Eſtaing, grown impatient under the unexpected reſiſtance which he had met with, reſolved to diſcontinue his regular approaches, and ſtorm the Britiſh entrenchments. He had already ſpent more time before Savannah, without having made any ſenſible impreſſion upon the garriſon, than he had aſſigned for the completion of the whole enterpriſe. His fleet, lying at anchor in the open ſea, was expoſed to the danger of being driven off the coaſt, at this late ſeaſon of the year, by tempeſtuous weather, and leaving him and his troops behind: But this danger was nothing, compared to what might have been apprehended had the Britiſh fleet followed him from the Weſt Indies, and made an attack upon his ſhips whilſt they were weakened by the number of men and guns that had been landed for carrying on the ſiege of Savannah. Theſe conſiderations, the force of which was heightened by a joint repreſentation from his naval officers, added to the natural impatience of temper which characteriſed the count d'Eſtaing, determined him to riſque an aſſault under all its preſent diſadvantages, rather than waſte longer time in carrying on the ſiege by regular approaches. To facilitate the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, an officer with five men, on the eighth of October, advanced under a heavy fire from the garriſon, and kindled the abbatis; but the dampneſs of the air, and the moiſture of the green wood of which the abbatis was compoſed, ſoon extinguiſhed the flames.

Attack the Britiſh lines.

The morning of the ninth of October was fixed upon for making the aſſault; and two feigned attacks by the militia were to draw the attention of the beſieged to their centre and left, whilſt a ſtrong body of choſen troops from the combined armies ſhould advance on the right of the Britiſh lines, and in two columns make the real attack. The principal of theſe columns was commanded by the count d'Eſtaing in perſon, aſſiſted by general Lincoln, and was deſtined to attack the Springhill redoubt in front, whilſt the other column, commanded by count Dillon, ſhould ſilently move along the edge of the ſwamp, paſs the redoubts and batteries, and get into the rear of the Britiſh lines. The troops which compoſed theſe two columns conſiſted of three thouſand five hundred French, ſix hundred provincial regulars, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleſtown militia, a number more than double that of the whole Britiſh garriſon, and were in motion long before daylight. Fortunately the column commanded by count Dillon miſtook its way, from the darkneſs of the morning, and was entangled in the ſwamp, from which it was unable to extricate itſelf until broad daylight appeared, and expoſed it to the view of the garriſon and the fire from the Britiſh batteries. This was ſo hot, and ſo well directed, that it was never able even to form, and far leſs, by penetrating into the rear of the Britiſh lines, to accompliſh its original object. In the mean time the column led by the count d'Eſtaing advanced againſt the Springhill redoubt, juſt as daylight appeared: And ſuch was the darkneſs of the morning, that it had approached very near before it was diſcernible. But, as ſoon as it was diſcovered, it became expoſed to a continued blaze of muſquetry from the redoubt, and to a deſtructive croſs fire from the adjoining batteries, which mowed down whole ranks of the allies as they advanced. From the numbers which fell, the head of the column was ſeveral times thrown into confuſion; but their places being inſtantly ſupplied by others, it ſtill moved on until it reached the redoubt, where the conteſt became more fierce and deſperate. The brave captain Tawſe fell in defending the gate of his redoubt with his ſword plunged in the body of the third enemy he had ſlain with his own hand, and a French and American ſtandard were for an inſtant planted upon the parapet. The conflict for the poſſeſſion of the redoubt nevertheleſs continued to be obſtinately maintained on both ſides, and the event remained in ſuſpenſe; when lieutenant-colonel Maitland, ſeizing the critical moment, ordered the grenadiers of the ſixtieth regiment, with the marines, to move forward and charge the enemy's column, already ſtaggering under the obſtinate reſiſtance it had met with at the redoubt, the ſlaughter which had been made by the artillery from the different batteries, and now alſo from the Germaine armed brig. This well-timed movement decided the fate of the attack. The aſſailants were repulſed, driven out of the ditch of the redoubt, and routed with redoubled ſlaughter, leaving behind them, in killed and wounded, ſix hundred and thirty-ſeven of the French troops, and two hundred and ſixty-four of the Americans. No purſuit was ordered, becauſe the beſiegers, although they had ſuffered greatly in the aſſault, were ſtill three times more numerous than the garriſon; but in their

Repulſed with conſiderable loſs.

flight, as in advancing, they were expoſed to a heavy fire from the Britiſh artillery, which was well ſerved under the direction of captain Charlton.

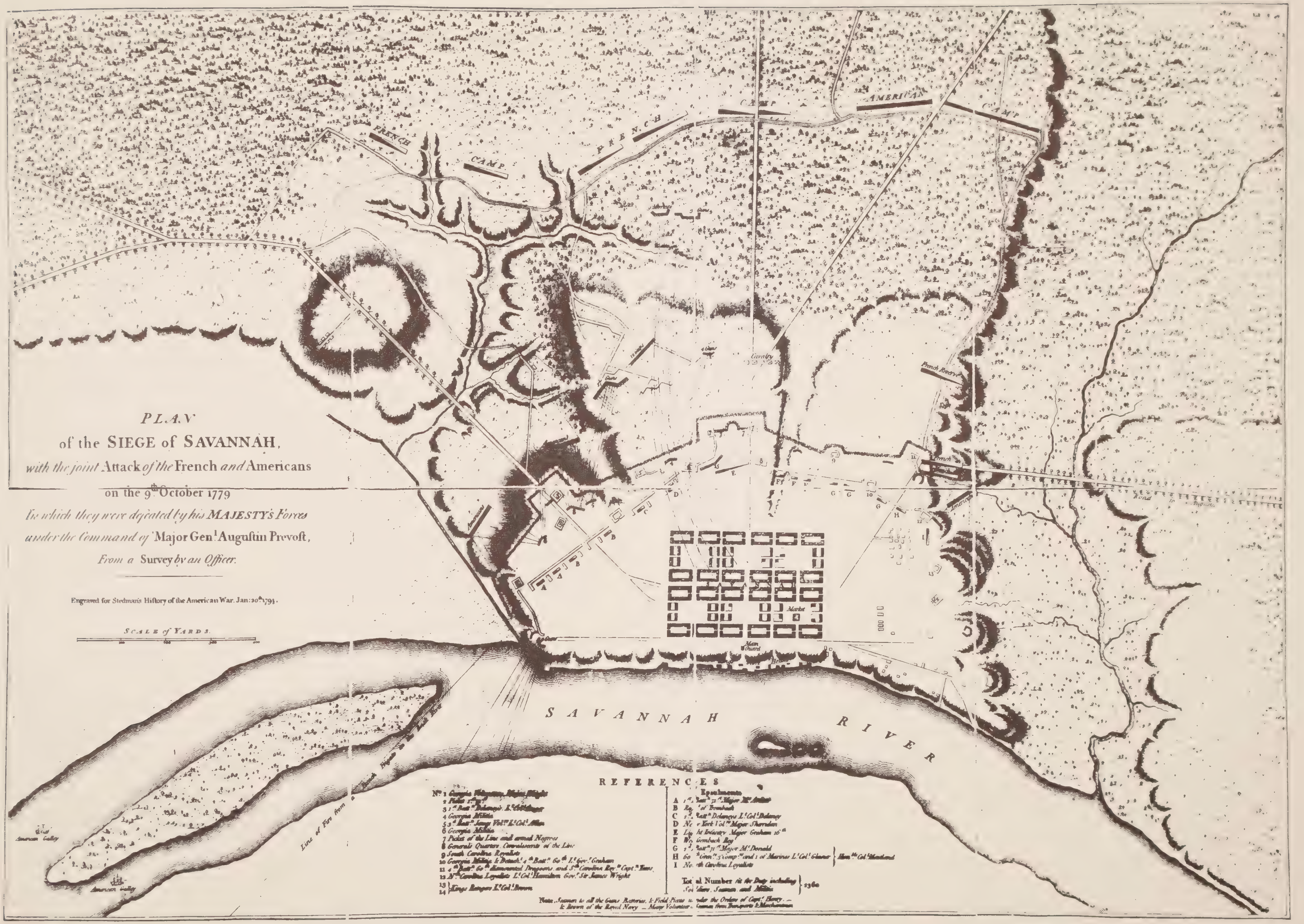
In this aſſault count Pulaſki, who commanded an American corps, received a mortal wound; and the count d'Eſtaing, who was ſeen by the garriſon to behave with great gallantry, was wounded in two places, but in neither of them dangerouſly.

No good agreement, it has been ſaid, ſubſiſted between the French and Americans from the commencement of the ſiege; and their mutual diſlike was now increaſed by their diſappointment. After the aſſault the French could no longer conceal their contempt for their new allies; they ſtyled them inſurgents, in common converſation, and even in written memorials. But the haughty demeanour of the count d'Eſtaing towards the garriſon ſeems to have been ſoftened by his misfortunes: An apology was made for refuſing leave to the women and children to retire to a place of ſafety, the blame of which was laid upon the Americans, and an offer was now made for their accommodation. This offer came too late to be accepted, eſpecially after a previous inſulting refuſal of what was now tendered; and it was with great propriety rejected by general Prevoſt.

Raiſe the ſiege.

The iſſue of the aſſault determined that of the ſiege. The French and Americans kept poſſeſſion of their lines only until the artillery and heavy baggage were withdrawn, and re-embarked on board the fleet. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed the ſiege was raiſed, and the allies ſeparated, the Americans retreating into South Carolina, and the French returning to their ſhips; on board which they had ſcarcely embarked when their fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm. The count d'Eſtaing, with part of the ſhips, returned to France, and the reſt proceeded to the Weſt Indies.

Such was the termination of the ſiege of Savannah, during which it is ſaid that the allied armies loſt in killed, wounded, and by deſertion,


PLAN
of the SIEGE of SAVANNAH,
with the joint Attack of the French and Americans
on the 9th October 1779
In which they were defeated by his MAJESTY's Forces
under the Command of Major Genl. Augustin Prevost,
From a Survey by an Officer.
Engraved for Stedman's History of the American War. Jan: 20th 1794.
SCALE of YARDS.
100
200
300
400
FRENCH
CAMP
FRENCH
CAMP
AMERICAN
CAMP
Cavalry
French Reserve
French
American
Americans
Market
Main Guard
SAVANNAH
RIVER
Road to Augusta
American Galley
American Galley
Line of Fire from
REFERENCES
No. 1 Georgia Volunteers Major Wright
2
3 1st Batt. Delancey's
4 Georgia Militia
5 3d Batt. Jersey Vol. Lt. Col. Allen
6 Georgia Militia
7 Pickets of the Line and armed Negroes
8 General's Quarters. Convalescents of the Line
9 South Carolina Royalists
10 Georgia Militia & Detacht. 4th Batt. 60th Lt. Gov. Graham
11 4th Batt. 60th dismounted Dragoons and S. Carolina Regt. Capt. Tawse
12 N. Carolina Loyalists Lt. Col. Hamilton Govr. Sir James Wright
13
14 Kings Rangers Lt. Col. Brown
Regiments
A 1st Batt. 71st Major McArthur
B Regt. of Trombach
C 2d Batt. Delancey's Lt. Col. Delancey
D New York Vol. Major Sherridan
E Light Infantry Major Graham 16th
F Wissenbach Regt.
G 2d Batt. 71st Major McDonald
H 60th Gren. 3 comp. and 1 of Marines Lt. Col. Glazier
Hon. Lt. Col. Maitland
I North Carolina Loyalists
Total Number fit for Duty including Soldiers, Seamen, and Militia
2360
Note. Seamen to all the Guns Batteries, & Field-Pieces under the Orders of Capt. Henry
& Brown of the Royal Navy. Many Volunteer Seamen from Transports & Merchantmen

ſertion, more than one thouſand five hundred men; whereas the loſs of the garriſon in the whole did not exceed one hundred and twenty.

It is impoſſible to do particular juſtice to all who by their exertions contributed to the ſucceſsful iſſue of the ſiege. The officers, naval and military, vied with each other who ſhould render the moſt eſſential ſervices to their king and country. The ſeamen and ſoldiers were animated with the ſame ſentiment; and no ſmall ſhare of praiſe is due to the former for their brave aſſiſtance and peculiar adroitneſs in managing the artillery at the batteries. The cool, ſteady, prudent, and firm conduct of general Prevoſt, aſſiſted by the able counſels and ſervices of that diſtinguiſhed officer lieutenant-colonel Maitland, the ſecond in command, who in a peculiar degree enjoyed the love, eſteem, and confidence of the garriſon; the ſkilful deſigns, prompt execution, and indefatigable exertions of captain Moncrieff in his department, as commanding engineer; the active and able ſervices of captain Charlton of the artillery; the wiſe precautions taken by captain Henry of the navy for the ſecurity of the river; the tried courage, manly firmneſs, and obſtinate reſiſtance of the provincial regiments and militia on the right of the lines, to whoſe lot it fell to bear, and nobly to withſtand, the fury of the aſſault; and the bold, deciſive, and irreſiſtible charge made by lieutenant-colonel Glazier with the grenadiers and marines, which completed the overthrow of the enemy; are all deſerving of the higheſt commendation, and rank the ſucceſsful defence of Savannah amongſt the moſt brilliant atchievements of the war.

One circumſtance alone ſerved to cloud the joy of the garriſon on their recent ſucceſs. This was the death of that highly-eſteemed and much-beloved officer the honourable lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who fell a martyr to a bilious diſorder contracted from the peſtilential vapours which ariſe from the marſhes during the hot and ſultry ſeaſon in that unwholeſome climate. He was attacked by it before he left Beaufort. It gathered ſtrength in his route through the marſhes to Savannah, and, preying upon him during the ſiege, ſoon afterwards put a period to the exiſtence of this gallant officer; whoſe memory will be dear to Britons, ſo long as manly fortitude, unſtained honour, and highly-improved military talents, are held in eſtimation.

The campaign to the ſouthward of North America concluded.

With the raiſing of the ſiege of Savannah ended the campaign to the ſouthward, which, although it cloſed with an atchievement ſo honourable to the Britiſh arms, was nevertheleſs unproductive of thoſe advantages which had been expected at the commencement of it.

Campaign in the other parts of the North American continent ſpent in deſultory operations.

The campaign in the other parts of America was ſpent in deſultory operations and partial expeditions, the object of which ſeems to have been to diſtract the attention of the Americans by their multiplicity, and to weaken them by cutting off their reſources, and deſtroying their magazines of naval and military ſtores.

Naval operations of ſir G. Collier.

Admiral Gambier, who ſucceeded lord Howe in the command of the Britiſh fleet on the American coaſt, was recalled in the ſpring of the preſent year, and in the month of April reſigned the command to ſir George Collier. This brave and zealous officer, who now ſucceeded to the command of the Britiſh navy in North America, had been employed on the Halifax ſtation from the commencement of the war. In the Rainbow of forty-four guns he made one of a convoy which eſcorted a fleet of tranſports with the firſt diviſion of the Heſſian troops, and a detachment of the guards, to America, in the year 1776. This fleet arrived at Sandy Hook in Auguſt of that year, a little before general Howe began his operations againſt the provincials; and ſoon after their defeat on Long Iſland ſir George Collier received orders to repair to Halifax and take the command of his majeſty's ſhips upon that important ſtation, in the room of commodore Arbuthnot, who was recalled. On this ſtation he continued until the ſpring of the preſent year, and during the whole time of his command diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a brave, zealous, active, enterpriſing, and vigilant officer. The timely relief of Fort Cumberland, at the head of the bay of Fundy, which was inveſted by the provincials from the eaſtern parts of Maſſachuſets Bay, ſoon after his arrival at Halifax: The capture of the Hancock of thirty-four guns and two hundred and ninety men, commanded by commodore Manley, the largeſt of a fleet of ſhips of war which were fitted out at Boſton to annoy the trade on the coaſt of Nova Scotia, and the Britiſh fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland: The driving off and diſperſing the provincials, who in ſmall veſſels had a ſecond time made a deſcent near St. John's River in Nova Scotia; and, at a ſubſequent period, the deſtruction of the proviſions, clothing, and military ſtores, which with great pains they had collected at Machias, in the eaſtern parts of Maſſachuſets Bay, for accompliſhing their favourite object, the invaſion of Nova Scotia; and in the deſtruction of theſe ſtores, the defeating the deſigns of the Americans againſt that province: The ſcouring of the eaſtern coaſts of New England with his cruiſers, keeping them in a conſtant ſtate of alarm, and taking their privateers, running up their rivers with his ſhips, appearing before their towns and ſhewing the practicability of a bombardment in caſe their hoſtile conduct ſhould demand ſuch a puniſhment, and thereby convincing them that it was their intereſt to be quiet, and not farther moleſt the peaceable inhabitants of Nova Scotia: The number of prizes carried into Halifax, and of Britiſh veſſels retaken from the enemy when they were upon the point of carrying them into their own ports: The trade of Nova Scotia protected, and the fiſhery in the gut of Canſo ſecured againſt moleſtation: Theſe are but a few of the many meritorious ſervices performed by this officer during his command at Halifax, for which, on more than one occaſion, he received the thanks of the

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the colony conveyed to him through the governor, council, and aſſembly.

From ſuch a line of uſeful and active ſervice ſir George was called to New York to take the command of the Britiſh fleet on the North American ſtation; and not long after his arrival an expedition to the Cheſapeak in Virginia, was concerted between him and ſir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief of the army. By the exports of tobacco from the Cheſapeak, the credit of congreſs with foreign nations was principally, if not wholly, ſupported; and by the inland navigation of that bay large quantities of ſalted proviſions, the produce both of Virginia and North Carolina, were conveyed to the middle colonies for the ſubſiſtence of the American army. The eſtabliſhment of a permanent poſt in Virginia, in ſuch a ſituation as to obſtruct the commerce of the Cheſapeak, both foreign and domeſtic, was an object of the utmoſt importance: But the feeble ſtate of the army would not admit of a ſufficient force to be detached for that purpoſe. A deſultory expedition to interrupt the commerce of the bay for a few weeks, and to deſtroy ſuch magazines, whether of proviſions, merchandiſe, or naval and military ſtores, as were acceſſible, was all the commander in chief, under the preſent ſituation of affairs, could conſent to. A detachment from the army, conſiſting of the grenadiers and light-infantry of the guards, the forty-ſecond regiment, a regiment of Heſſians, and the royal volunteers of Ireland, with a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to one thouſand eight hundred men, under the command of brigadier-general Matthew, was aſſigned for this purpoſe, and embarked on board tranſports. The commodore, in the Raiſonable of ſixty-four guns, attended by the Rainbow, Otter, Diligent, Haarlem ſloop, and Cornwallis galley, and ſome private veſſels of war, undertook to convoy them, and to conduct in perſon the naval part of the expedition. The troops being embarked, the fleet, with a favourable wind, paſſed the bar at Sandy Hook on the fifth, and entered between the Capes of Virginia on the eighth of May. The Otter ſloop, with the privateers, was immediately ſent up the Cheſapeak, and the reſt of the fleet, with the tranſports, on the following morning proceeded to Hampton Road, a large baſon of water formed by the confluence of Elizabeth, Nanſemond, and James rivers. Some miles above its mouth Elizabeth River is ſeparated into two branches, one called the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern branch, and below the confluence of theſe branches, on the eaſtern ſide, once ſtood Norfolk, the principal commercial town in Virginia, and oppoſite to it, on the weſtern ſide, Portſmouth, a place of ſome trade, which, although not equal to Norfolk, was annually increaſing, and in time threatened to rival it. A little above theſe, upon a point of land intervening between two of the branches of the river, was Goſport, where the government of Virginia, ſince the commencement of the war, had eſtabliſhed a marine yard, and collected an immenſe quantity of timber for ſhip-building. As a defence for this yard and the adjoining docks, they had with great labour and expence conſtructed a fort upon the bank of the river, about half a mile below Portſmouth, which towards the water was already finiſhed and mounted with cannon; the walls of which conſiſted of an outward caſe of logs of timber ſtrongly dove-tailed together, with the intermediate ſpace filled up with hard-rammed earth, being fourteen feet in height, and fifteen feet thick.

Portſmouth was the place which the commanders on this expedition propoſed to occupy; and the reduction of the fort was of courſe the firſt thing to be attempted. As the Raiſonable, from her great draught of water, could proceed no higher than Hampton Road, the commodore ſhifted his broad pennant on board the Renown; and on the morning of the thirteenth of October the whole fleet, except the Raiſonable, got under way, and entered the mouth of Elizabeth

River. The ebbing of the tide ſoon obliged the ſhips to come to an anchor, but the troops being embarked on board the boats, proceeded, and effected a landing under cover of the Cornwallis galley, and ſome gun-boats, about three miles below the fort, at a place called the Glebe, the firſt diviſion at two in the afternoon and the ſecond before ſun-ſet. No oppoſition was made to their landing, except an ineffectual cannonade from the fort, which was too diſtant to do any miſchief. It was propoſed that the troops ſhould, on the following morning, ſtorm the fort on the land ſide, where the fortifications were yet unfiniſhed, whilſt the Rainbow ſhould move up and batter it from the water: But a forward movement of the troops having been made that ſame evening as ſoon as the ſecond diviſion had landed, the provincial garriſon, fearful of being ſurrounded, and having their retreat cut off, haſtily evacuated the fort, leaving behind all the artillery, ammunition, baggage, and ſtores. Such was their trepidation, that they did not even wait to ſtrike the American flag, but left it flying. General Matthew having thus eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the fort, took a ſtrong poſition with the army between Portſmouth and the country, the right wing reaching to the fort, the left to the ſouth branch of Elizabeth River, and the centre covered in front by an impenetrable ſwamp. Detachments were ſent to Norfolk and Goſport; and all the veſſels in Elizabeth River, except ſuch as were burnt by the provincials before their retreat, with an immenſe quantity of naval and military ſtores, merchandiſe, and proviſions, were either taken or deſtroyed by the Britiſh troops. Detachments were alſo ſent to Kemp's Landing, in Princeſs Ann county, and to the town of Suffolk in Nanſemond county, and at each of theſe places, particularly the latter, an immenſe quantity of proviſions and ſtores of all ſorts, with ſome veſſels richly laden, were either taken or deſtroyed.

The Otter ſloop, and the privateers which went up the Cheſapeak, were alſo ſucceſsful, and took a number of prizes. In the mean time the fort was demoliſhed, and the marine yard burnt, with all the timber it contained. Theſe ſervices being performed, the troops were re-embarked; and the whole fleet, with the prizes, having quitted Virginia, arrived at New York before the end of the month, having been abſent only twenty-four days. The damage done to the provincials was aſtoniſhingly great, and has been eſtimated at half a million ſterling. The Americans themſelves, before their flight from Portſmouth, ſet fire to a ſhip of war of twenty-eight guns belonging to congreſs, and ready for launching; and alſo to two French merchantmen in the river, one loaded with bale-goods, and the other with a thouſand hogſheads of tobacco. Beſides theſe, eight other ſhips of war, in different forwardneſs upon the ſtocks, and ſeveral merchantmen, were burnt by the Britiſh troops; and, excluſively of all other loſſes, the number of veſſels alone which were taken or deſtroyed, during this ſhort expedition, amounted to one hundred and thirty-ſeven.

CHAP. XXXI.

Reduction of two ſtrong Poſts on Hudſon's River—Expedition againſt Connecticut—Ravages—Murmurs in Connecticut—Fort Stoney Point ſurpriſed by General Wayne—Stoney Point evacuated by the Americans—Again poſſeſſed by the Britiſh—Britiſh Settlement in Penobſcot—Attacked in vain by the Americans—Reinforcement brought to the Britiſh Army by Admiral Arbuthnot, who ſucceeds Sir George Collier in the Command of the Navy—American Incurſions into the Country of the Indians—Incurſions of the Indians into the American Settlements.

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PREVIOUSLY to the arrival of the fleet from Virginia, ſir Henry Clinton had made preparations for attacking two ſtrong poſts on Hudſon's River, about ſixty miles above New York, which the provincials were then fortifying. Theſe were the important poſts of Verplank's Neck and Stoney Point, on oppoſite ſides of the river, commanding the paſſage at King's Ferry, which was the moſt direct and convenient courſe of communication between the northern and middle colonies. To gain theſe poſts was an object of ſome conſequence, as, by the loſs of them, the provincials, in order to maintain an intercourſe between the provinces on the eaſt and weſt ſides of Hudſon's River, would be obliged to make a circuit of more than ſixty miles through the mountains. A detachment from the army at New York was already embarked on board of tranſports, and theſe being joined by the tranſports with the troops from Virginia, the whole, on the thirtieth of May, proceeded up the North River, under the direction of ſir George Collier, who, as well as the commander in chief of the army, accompanied this expedition. The principal diviſion of the army, under major-general Vaughan, was landed on the eaſtern ſide of the river, about ſeven miles below Fort Fayette, on Verplank's Neck, and the commander in chief, with the other, proceeded onward within three miles of Stoney Point, where, on the weſtern ſide of the river, that diviſion was landed alſo. Stoney Point, by its high and commanding ſituation, is a place of great natural ſtrength; but, as the works were yet unfiniſhed, the provincials were afraid to riſque an aſſault, and quitted it as ſoon as the Britiſh fleet appeared in view, having firſt ſet fire to a block-houſe which they were conſtructing upon the ſummit of the eminence. It was taken poſſeſſion of towards the evening, and ſome heavy cannon and mortars were immediately landed from the fleet. Theſe were with much labour dragged up the hill during the night; and ſuch expedition was uſed under the direction of major-general Pattiſon, of the artillery, to whom this ſervice was committed, that, by five the next morning, a battery of cannon and mortars from the ſummit of Stoney Point opened upon Fort Fayette on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Fort Fayette was a ſmall but complete work, incloſed with palliſades, a double ditch, chevaux de frize, and abbatis, and had a block-houſe in the centre, which was bomb-proof; but as it was commanded by the ſuperior height of Stoney Point, the cannonade from the latter, as well as from the gallies and armed veſſels upon the river, ſoon made a ſenſible impreſſion. During the cannonade it was inveſted by general Vaughan on the ſide towards the country, and the gallies being ſo ſtationed as to prevent an eſcape by water, the garriſon, ſurrounded in every quarter, ſurrendered as priſoners of war, without ſtipulating for any other condition than a promiſe of good uſage. And thus theſe two important poſts were gained with the trifling loſs of only one man wounded. Orders were given for completing the fortifications at Stoney Point; and garriſons having been appointed for both the forts, the fleet, with the reſt of the troops, fell down the river, and returned to New York.

Expedition againſt Connecticut.

Soon afterwards an expedition was planned againſt the province of Connecticut, which, abounding with men as well as proviſions, was a principal ſupport to the American army. One purpoſe of this expedition was to convince the people of Connecticut that their province was not inacceſſible, and that it was owing only to the forbearance of the Britiſh government, which rather wiſhed to reclaim than to puniſh, that their country had not yet experienced the calamities and devaſtations of war; and another object was, to oblige general Waſhington to quit his ſtrong ſituation upon the North River, and deſcend into the low country for the defence of the ſea-coaſt. On the fourth of July the tranſports, with the troops deſtined for this expedition, which amounted to two thouſand ſix hundred men, weighed anchor at the entrance into the ſound, and proceeded towards New Haven, the capital of Connecticut. The command of the land force was given to major-general Tryon; and the commodore, in the Camilla frigate, accompanied by the Scorpion ſloop, Halifax brig, and Huſſar galley, eſcorted the tranſports, and took upon himſelf their direction. At ſome diſtance below the town of New Haven, brigadier-general Garth, of the guards, diſembarked with the firſt diviſion of troops, and notwithſtanding a continued oppoſition from the inhabitants during a march of ſeven miles, which he was obliged to make in order to paſs the head of a creek, he at laſt forced his way and took poſſeſſion of the town. Major-general Tryon, with the ſecond diviſion of the troops, landed on the oppoſite ſide of the harbour, and took poſſeſſion of a fort upon the heights, by the guns of which the harbour was commanded. A communication was opened between the two diviſions of the army; and brigadier-general Garth remained in poſſeſſion

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of the town during the night. All the artillery, ammunition, and public ſtores, and all the veſſels in the harbour, were either taken or deſtroyed; but the town itſelf was ſaved, and private houſes as much as poſſible exempted from plunder. This was a degree of lenity which the conduct of the inhabitants ſcarcely merited; for beſides the oppoſition made to the troops in their march to the town, they were annoyed from the windows, even after they had poſſeſſion of it; and ſeveral of the centinels placed at private houſes to prevent plunder were wounded upon their poſts. On the following day, after a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to return to their allegiance, in which caſe they were promiſed protection, ſupport, and encouragement, and denouncing vengeance and puniſhment if they ſhould ſtill perſiſt in a rebellious oppoſition to the mother-country, had been diſtributed, and after the fort was diſmantled, the troops were re-embarked and left New Haven.

From New Haven the fleet proceeded to Fairfield, where the troops were again landed. Here a reſiſtance and oppoſition were experienced more obſtinate and inveterate than at New Haven: And as the lenity and forbearance ſhewn at the laſt of theſe places ſeemed to have produced no effect, the preſent was thought a fit moment to give an example of ſeverity. At Fairfield not only the public ſtores of all ſorts, with the veſſels in the harbour, were either taken or deſtroyed, but the town itſelf was laid in aſhes. As the fleet and troops proceeded in fulfilling the purpoſes of the expedition, the oppoſition which they met with ſeemed to increaſe with the extent of their progreſs: Norwalk, therefore, and Greenfield, at each of which places the troops were ſucceſſively landed, ſhared the ſame fate as the town of Fairfield. A deſcent at New London, which was a rendezvous for privateers, was the ultimate object of the expedition; but as a greater oppoſition was expected there than at either of the other places, it was thought neceſſary to obtain a further ſupply of ammunition and a reinforcement of troops before they made the attempt *. For this purpoſe the fleet returned to Huntington Bay in Long Iſland, and the commodore proceeded to Frog's Neck, to confer with the commander in chief of the army on the ſubject of their future operations.

During this ſhort expedition, which had laſted only nine days, the injury ſuſtained by the inhabitants of Connecticut in the loſs of property both public and private, was very conſiderable: But notwithſtanding the conflagration of ſo many towns on the ſea-coaſt, general Waſhington could not be prevailed upon to abandon his ſtrong ſituation in the neighbourhood of the North River. His apparent apathy, and that of the congreſs, with reſpect to Connecticut, produced murmurs amongſt the inhabitants, which at length broke forth into open complaints. Some of the principal inhabitants, conſidering protection and allegiance to be reciprocal duties, began to think of withdrawing their ſubjection from a power which ſeemed to neglect them in their diſtreſs, and of making terms with the Britiſh commanders for themſelves. Such certainly was the import of the intelligence from Connecticut communicated to ſir Henry Clinton, about the preſent period; and the conference between him and the commodore at Frog's Neck, was on the ſubject of this intelligence, and with a view of arranging matters, ſo that the intended expedition againſt New London might ſerve to impreſs the inhabitants more ſtrongly with thoſe ſentiments which they had already begun to entertain.

But, whilſt the Britiſh commanders were thus deviſing meaſures for improving the diſpoſition which had manifeſted itſelf in Connecticut, general Waſhington had already atchieved an enterpriſe which diſconcerted all their preſent deſigns againſt that province, and

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* The loſs of the Britiſh troops in this expedition was 20 killed, 96 wounded, and 32 miſſing.

called their attention to a different quarter. This was the ſurpriſe of the fort at Stoney Point, which was taken by aſſault in the night of the fifteenth of July. As the Americans had been but lately diſpoſſeſſed of this poſt, it is preſumable that they were well acquainted with all the acceſſible approaches which led to it, as well as with thoſe parts of the works which were moſt aſſailable. But even with theſe advantages it was an enterpriſe of difficulty and danger; and the American general Wayne, who conducted it, deſerved great praiſe for his gallantry and good conduct, as did the troops which he commanded for their bravery. Theſe being divided into two columns, entered the works in oppoſite quarters, and met in the centre of them about one in the morning of the ſixteenth of July. The ſurpriſe was not ſo complete but that reſiſtance was made; and the loſs in killed and wounded was nearly equal on both ſides. Lieutenant-colonel Johnſon of the ſeventeenth regiment commanded the Britiſh garriſon, which conſiſted of the ſeventeenth regiment, the grenadier company of the ſeventy-firſt, a company of the regiment of loyal Americans, and a detachment of artillery, amounting in the whole to about ſix hundred men. Of theſe one hundred and fifty-two were either killed or wounded, and the reſt, with their commander, were made priſoners. The force under general Wayne has not been aſcertained; but, from the number of corps of which it conſiſted, it may be ſuppoſed to have amounted to fifteen hundred, all of them choſen men.

The conduct of the Americans upon this occaſion was highly meritorious; for they would have been fully juſtified in putting the garriſon to the ſword: Not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat. Colonel Johnſon's conduct was moſt deſervedly and juſtly cenſured.

The plan formed by general Waſhington for theſe operations on the North River comprehended Fort Fayette as well as Stoney Point.

Both were to have been attacked the ſame night; but the detachment under the American general How, which was ſent againſt Fort Fayette, did not arrive in time. Still, however, it was advancing; and, to favour the attack, general Wayne, as ſoon as he poſſeſſed himſelf of Stoney Point, turned the cannon of that garriſon againſt Fort Fayette, where lieutenant-colonel Webſter commanded, with a garriſon conſiſting of the thirty-third regiment, part of the regiment of loyal Americans, a detachment from the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and another of royal artillery.

Intelligence of the capture of Stoney Point, and the danger of Fort Fayette on Verplank's Neck, having been brought to ſir Henry Clinton juſt after his conference with ſir George Collier, the expedition againſt New London was for the preſent laid aſide, the tranſports and troops were recalled from the Sound, and the army made a forward movement to Dobb's Ferry, on the North River. Brigadier-general Stirling, with a detachment, was ſent up the river in tranſports, to the aſſiſtance of lieutenant-colonel Webſter; and the commander in chief, with a greater force, ſoon afterwards followed, from an expectation that general Waſhington might be tempted to quit his faſtneſſes, and riſque an engagement for the poſſeſſion of Stoney Point. But this was not general Waſhington's intention; and therefore, when intelligence was received of a Britiſh reinforcement advancing up the North River, orders were given for evacuating Stoney Point, which was done after as many of the works had been deſtroyed as the time would permit. In the mean time lieutenant-colonel Webſter defended his poſt on Verplank's Neck with prudence and bravery. To the cannonade from Stoney Point he returned not a ſhot, as it would have been uſeleſs and ineffectual: But, againſt the provincials under general How, who were advancing to attack him on the other ſide, every effort was made that could prevent their ſucceſs; and, before they were able to make any impreſſion

Stoney Point evacuated by the Americans:

Again poſſeſſed by the Britiſh.

preſſion upon the fort, the arrival of brigadier-general Stirling with his detachment, put an end to their hopes, and obliged them to retreat. The poſt at Stoney Point was again taken poſſeſſion of; and upon the arrival of the commander in chief, orders were iſſued for repairing the works. A larger garriſon was aſſigned for its defence, and brigadier-general Stirling was appointed to command it. As it was now apparent that general Waſhington did not mean to quit his ſecure poſition in the high lands for the ſake of conteſting the poſſeſſion of Stoney Point, the tranſports were ordered to fall down the river, and the troops returned to their former quarters.

Scarcely had ſir George Collier reached New York, on his return from accompanying ſir Henry Clinton upon this expedition, when he received intelligence that a fleet of armed veſſels, with tranſports and troops, had ſailed from Boſton to attack a Britiſh poſt, which general Maclean was then endeavouring to eſtabliſh at Penobſcot, in the eaſtern part of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay. Orders were immediately iſſued for getting in readineſs ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as were then at New York; and on the third of Auguſt the commodore in the Raiſonable, accompanied by the Greyhound, Blonde, Virginia, Camilla, Galatea, and Otter ſloop, ſailed from thence for the relief of the garriſon at Penobſcot.

Britiſh ſettlement in Penobſcot,

In the month of June general Francis Maclean, who commanded the king's troops in Nova Scotia, with a detachment of ſix hundred and fifty men from the ſeventy-fourth and eighty-ſecond regiments, embarked in tranſports, and, eſcorted by three ſloops of war, arrived in the bay of Penobſcot, in order to form a ſettlement, and eſtabliſh a poſt which might not only ſerve to check the incurſions of the provincials into Nova Scotia, but be the means of obtaining a conſtant ſupply of ſhip timber, with which the neighbouring country abounded, for the uſe of the king's yards at Halifax and other places. The bay of Penobſcot is about ſeven leagues

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in breadth at the mouth, and ſeventeen leagues in length, terminating where the river Penobſcot empties itſelf into the head of it; and the lands all round were then covered with wood, ſcarcely any ſettlements having been made upon them. About nine miles below the mouth of Penobſcot river, on the eaſtern ſide of the bay, is a ſmall but convenient harbour, which ſtill retains its ancient Indian name of Majabagaduce; and a peninſula, or point of land, forming one ſide of that harbour, was the ſpot fixed upon by general Maclean for erecting a fort to protect the ſettlement. The land was firſt to be cleared of the wood that grew upon it, which was a work of great labour and difficulty. This being done, the outlines of a fort were marked out, which was intended to be of a ſquare form with a baſtion at each angle, incloſing a ſpace of ground capacious enough to admit of a cavalier or block-houſe in the centre, with barracks for the men, and apartments for the officers; and every exertion was made to get this work in forwardneſs, which was to ſerve for their future defence.

In the mean time, intelligence of what was doing at Penobſcot having been carried to Boſton, the executive government of Maſſachuſet's Bay determined to fit out an armament with the utmoſt diſpatch, in order to obſtruct or finally ruin the ſettlement. An embargo was immediately laid upon all the ſhipping in Boſton harbour, and bounties were offered to ſuch perſons as would engage in the Penobſcot expedition. By ſuch means a ſquadron was ſoon got in readineſs, which conſiſted of nineteen armed ſhips and brigantines, the largeſt carrying thirty-two, and the ſmalleſt ten guns. To theſe were added twenty-ſeven tranſports, having on board three thouſand troops; the fleet being under the direction of commodore Saltonſtall, and the troops under the command of general Lovel. Againſt ſo conſiderable a force it was thoug htthat general Maclean, with his handful of men, could not long defend himſelf: And upon the departure of the fleet, his ſurrender, and the ruin of the ſettlement, were conſidered by the people of Maſſachuſet's Bay as events, of the completion of which no doubt could be reaſonably entertained.

Intelligence of the ſailing of this armament was brought to general Maclean on the twenty-firſt of July, only four days before its arrival at Penobſcot. All that time, two of the baſtions of the intended fort were not begun, and the other two, with the curtains, were in no part above five feet in height, and twelve in thickneſs. The ditch in moſt parts was not more than three feet deep; no platform was laid, nor any artillery mounted. But upon the arrival of this alarming intelligence, all preſent thoughts of finiſhing the fort were laid aſide, and the troops were employed day and night on ſuch works as were immediately neceſſary to ſecure them againſt an aſſault; a mode of attack which they had the greateſt reaſon to apprehend would be purſued by the enemy, in conſequence of their very ſuperior force.

Although the provincials arrived in the bay of Penobſcot on the twenty-fifth of July, they were unable to effect a landing until the twenty-eighth. The three ſloops of war, under the direction of captain Mowat, being ſo ſtationed as to command the mouth of the harbour, prevented the provincial fleet from entering and effecting a landing on that ſide of the peninſula; and on the other ſide the natural ſteepneſs and ruggedneſs of the ſhore rendered it an enterpriſe of difficulty and danger. At length, however, they effected their purpoſe before day in the morning of the twenty-eighth, at a place which had been thought inacceſſible; and on the thirtieth opened a battery againſt the works, at the diſtance of ſeven hundred and fifty yards. From the inceſſant labour of the garriſon, during the interval between the twenty-firſt and thirtieth of July, the gorge of one of the unfiniſhed baſtions was filled up with logs of timber; and the

attacked in vain by the Americans.

the other, containing the well which ſupplied the garriſon with water, was ſurrounded with a work of faſcines and earth, ten feet thick; platforms were laid, and artillery mounted; a ſort of chevaux de frize was carried round the fort; and the whole incloſed with an abbatis; ſo that by the time the enemy had opened their battery, general Maclean and his garriſon thought themſelves tolerably prepared to reſiſt an aſſault. The enemy's fleet made frequent attempts to enter the harbour, but were conſtantly repulſed by the fire from the ſhips of war, and a battery erected to ſupport them on ſhore. The provincial land force, nevertheleſs, continued to make approaches, and erect new batteries; and a briſk cannonade was kept up between them and the garriſon for near a fortnight. Frequent ſkirmiſhes too happened without the fort, the garriſon being under the neceſſity of preſerving a communication with the ſhipping and the battery which covered it. Auguſt. On the twelfth of Auguſt intelligence was conveyed to general Maclean by a deſerter, that on the following day an aſſault was to be made on the fort, and an attack upon the ſhips of war at the ſame time; and every neceſſary preparation was made by the general for repelling them. But the approach of the ſquadron under ſir George Collier, as it afterwards appeared, prevented the provincials from executing their intention; and, on the morning of the fourteenth, the garriſon, to their great ſurpriſe, diſcovered that the works had been evacuated during the preceding night, and that the provincial troops, with the greateſt part of the cannon, were re-embarked on board the ſhips. The cauſe of this ſudden retreat was then unknown to the garriſon; but by ten in the forenoon the appearance of the Britiſh ſquadron ſtanding up the bay quickly unveiled the myſtery. The provincial fleet appeared to be in diſorder; and for ſome time the commanders ſeemed undetermined what to do. At length an ignominious flight took place; every one endeavouring to provide for his own ſafety, and none daring to wait the ſhock of the Britiſh ſquadron. Two of the provincial armed ſhips endeavoured to get to ſea by paſſing round Long Iſland, which lies in the middle of the bay; but they were ſoon intercepted, the firſt being taken, and the other run a-ſhore and blown up by her crew. The reſt of their fleet, with the tranſports, fled in the utmoſt confuſion to the head of the bay, and entered the mouth of Penobſcot river. They were purſued by the Britiſh ſquadron. By this diſgraceful flight the provincials became expoſed to a danger almoſt as great as that which they had eſcaped. They were landed in a wild uncultivated country, without proviſions or any other neceſſaries, and had to explore their way for more than an hundred miles through this pathleſs deſert before they could reach a place from which ſupplies might be obtained. In this forlorn and deſtitute ſituation mutual reproaches paſſed between the ſeamen and landſmen; and each accuſed the other of being the cauſe of their preſent misfortunes. A battle enſued, in which fifty or ſixty were ſlain; and a much greater number, exhauſted with famine and fatigue, before they could reach the ſettled parts of the province, periſhed miſerably in the woods. Such was the iſſue of the provincial expedition againſt the Britiſh ſettlement at Penobſcot; for the ſucceſsful defence of which, under ſo many diſadvantages, general Maclean is entitled to the greateſt praiſe. And in the progreſs and iſſue of this expedition we ſee how much may be effected by a very inconſiderable force, when Britiſh officers act with zeal and unanimity in the ſervice of their king and country*.

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* The loſs of the garriſon amounted to 70, killed, wounded, and miſſing. The loſs on board the fleet was 15 killed and wounded.

The American fleet taken or deſtroyed on this expedition was as follows:—

Warren of 32 guns, 18 and 12 pounders. Monmouth 24. Vengeance 24. Putnam 22. Sally 22, blown up. Hampden, 20 gnns, taken. Hector 20, blown up. Hunter, 18, taken. Black Prince 18; and Sky Rocket 16; blown up.

Brigs

1779. Reinforcement brought to the Britiſh army by admiral Arbuthnot, who ſucceeds ſir G. Collier in the command of the navy.

The relief of the garriſon at Penobſcot, with the total deſtruction of the naval armament that had been ſent againſt it, was the laſt of thoſe meritorious ſervices performed by ſir George Collier during the ſhort but active period in which he had the command of the Britiſh fleet on the coaſt of North America. On his return to New York he found himſelf ſuperſeded by the arrival of admiral Arbuthnot from England with ſome ſhips of war and a fleet of tranſports, bringing a reinforcement of troops, and a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores. To the admiral he reſigned the command, and ſoon afterwards embarked for England.

The reinforcement brought by admiral Arbuthnot had been long and impatiently expected by ſir Henry Clinton, who, from the feeble ſtate of the army, was unable, until its arrival, to engage in any enterpriſe of importance. Although it was now late, the ſeaſon for action was not yet entirely over; but the appearance of the count d'Eſtaing with his formidable fleet on the coaſt of Georgia, intelligence of which, as well as of his threatened attack againſt New York, was brought about this time, obliged the commander in chief to give up all thoughts of offenſive operations during the remainder of the campaign, and to concentre his force, that he might be prepared to meet the ſhock which he was to expect from a combined attack of the French by ſea and the Americans by land. In this view, Rhode Iſland was evacuated, and the garriſon withdrawn to New York. And in this reſpect alone, by obliging ſir Henry Clinton to change his ſyſtem, and act upon the defenſive during the remainder of the campaign, the expedition of the count d'Eſtaing to the coaſt of North America, otherwiſe unfortunate, may be ſaid to have been ſerviceable to the American cauſe.

Brigs—Active 16 guns; Defence 16; Hazard 16; Diligence 14; Tyrannicide 14; Providence ſloop 14; blown up. Spring Bird 12, burnt. Nancy 16, Rover 10, taken. Together with 24 ſail of ſhips and veſſels, as tranſports, all burnt.

CHAP. XXXI.

1779.

Bold attack by the Americans on Paulus Hook.

Nothing elſe of moment happened upon the ſea-coaſt, except a bold and ſucceſsful attack made by the American major Lee upon the Britiſh poſt at Paulus Hook, on the Jerſey ſhore, oppoſite to New York, which, although it had no effect upon the general iſſue of the campaign, nevertheleſs merits notice, as it ſerves to ſhew how dangerous it is for the beſt-diſciplined troops to live in a ſtate of ſecurity, even when oppoſed to an enemy which they deſpiſe; and alſo as it affords one example out of many how well the provincials were furniſhed with intelligence of every thing that paſſed within the Britiſh lines. Major Sutherland, who had the command of the poſt at Paulus Hook, detached on the nineteenth of Auguſt a part of the garriſon to proceed on ſome particular ſervice, into the country; and intelligence of this movement being immediately communicated to major Lee, who commanded ſome provincials in the neighbourhood, he reſolved to avail himſelf of the opportunity, which the abſence of a part of the garriſon afforded, to make an attempt upon the poſt. The deſign which he had formed was carried into execution the following night. Advancing, with three hundred men, to the gate of the works, he was miſtaken by the centinel for the officer who commanded the party that had marched into the country in the morning, and was ſuffered to paſs, together with his detachment; and in ſuch an unſoldierly ſtate of ſecurity did he find the garriſon, that he ſeized a block-houſe and two redoubts, before the alarm was given. Major Sutherland now threw himſelf into a redoubt, with ſixty Heſſians, and by keeping up an inceſſant fire upon the provincials, ſoon obliged them to quit the poſt, without their attempting to ſpike up the cannon, or doing any injury to the works; and ſo precipitately as to give occaſion to ſir Henry Clinton to remark, in his official diſpatches, that their retreat was as diſgraceful as their attack had been ſpirited and well-conducted. They nevertheleſs carried off with them about forty priſoners. It was not their intention to remain in poſſeſſion of the poſt; the object of the attack being no other than to give ſome eclat to the American arms, and to promote a ſpirit of enterpriſe amongſt the officers and ſoldiers.

American incurſions into the country of the Indians.

In the interior country the war of devaſtation was ſtill carried on between the provincials and Indians. Againſt the latter an expedition, of more than ordinary magnitude, was planned by the congreſs, to revenge the bloody incurſions of the preceding year. The command of it was given to major-general Sullivan; and the force employed amounted to five thouſand men. With this force, formed into two diviſions, and accompanied by ſome artillery and field-pieces, general Sullivan entered the Indian country. The Indians, ſeeing no proſpect of being able to oppoſe ſuch a force, quitted their ſettlements as he approached them, and fled into other parts. The war of devaſtation now commenced; and the barbarous ſavage had the mortification to find that the civilized inhabitant of the ſea-coaſt could outdo him in deliberate acts of miſchief. Eighteen of their towns were laid in aſhes, and more than one hundred and fifty thouſand buſhels of corn were deſtroyed: Their gardens were laid waſte: Even their fruit-trees were cut down; and nothing was ſuffered to remain that could be ſuppoſed to afford them any ſuſtenance. But whilſt the provincials were thus laying waſte the Indian towns, the Indians on their part were making inroads into the provincial ſettlements, and much miſchief was done on both ſides. Revenge for an injury received is a point of honour which an Indian never gives up: A ſevere retribution was therefore to be expected for the ravages committed by general Sullivan. The Indians were irritated but not ſubdued, and had not deigned to ſue for peace: Whence it may be doubted whether this expedition was of any real utility. But if any benefit was derived from it, it was not equal to the expence which it coſt, or the expectations which had been formed

Incurſions of the Indians into the provincial ſettlements.

formed from it; and all who were concerned in planning it ſeem to have been diſappointed. The congreſs was diſſatisfied: General Waſhington did not approve of the conduct of the expedition; and general Sullivan, ſoon after his return from the Indian country, reſigned his employments in diſguſt, and retired from the public ſervice.

This expedition was undertaken againſt the northern Indians, which border on the provinces of Penſylvania and New York. Similar expeditions were alſo ſet on foot in the ſouthern colonies againſt the Indians on their frontiers, which, although not ſo expenſive as that of general Sullivan, were proportionably more efficacious: And, during this ſummer, both the northern and ſouthern Indians ſuffered a ſevere chaſtiſement.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Confederacy againſt Great Britain joined by Spain—French Attack on Jerſey—Repelled—Naval Tranſactions—The combined Fleets of France and Spain threaten an Invaſion of Great Britain—Engagement between Captain Paul Jones and the Convoy of a Britiſh Fleet from the Baltic—Blockade of Gibraltar—Incurſion of the Americans into Weſt Florida—Weſt Florida reduced by the Spaniards—The Spaniards attack the Britiſh Logwood-cutters in Honduras—Reduction of the Spaniſh Fort Omoa, the Key of the Bay of Honduras—Protection afforded to the Britiſh Commerce—General Retroſpect of Britiſh Affairs at the Concluſion of 1779.

CHAP. XXXII. 1779. The confederacy againſt Great Britain joined by Spain.

FROM America we muſt now paſs to Europe, where, through the intrigues of the court of France, one power openly joined the confederacy againſt Great Britain, and another, her ancient and much-favoured ally, became ſo lukewarm in her attachment, that her friendſhip was no longer to be depended upon.

When France firſt determined to acknowledge the independence of the American colonies, and to enter into a treaty with them, Spain was ſolicited to join in it. But, however deſirous this branch of the houſe of Bourbon, as well as the other, might be to reduce the power of Great Britain, the propoſition was at that time rejected; very probably from an apprehenſion that Great Britain might be diſpoſed to retaliate by ſtirring up a rebellion in the Spaniſh colonies. The court of France, nevertheleſs, unceaſingly continued its ſolicitations, which, in the fall of the preceding year, appear to have become effectual. The king of Spain, in the month of September of that year, interpoſed ſo far as to offer to mediate between the belligerent powers.

However unſuitable, in point of impartiality, it might appear for one branch of the houſe of Bourbon to undertake to mediate between another branch of the ſame houſe and a third power, Great Britain nevertheleſs accepted the mediation of Spain; and the propoſals of the court of France, for putting an end to the differences which ſubſiſted between it and Great Britain, were preſented to the court of London by the Spaniſh ambaſſador. Theſe were found to be ſo totally inadmiſſible, as to create a ſuſpicion that the king of Spain had engaged in the mediation only for the purpoſe of furniſhing himſelf with a pretext to take a part in the war; and they were inſtantly rejected by the court of Great Britain. The king of Spain, in his character of mediator, now preſented other terms, as from himſelf, which he called ultimate propoſals: But theſe were ſo nearly the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe offered by the court of France, that they were equally inadmiſſible. They were however rejected with much civility; and, in the anſwer delivered to the Spaniſh ambaſſador, a wiſh was expreſſed that nothing that had paſſed might interrupt the harmony ſubſiſting between Great Britain and Spain.

Although it was generally underſtood, long before the end of this negotiation, that, if it failed in effect, Spain was to become a party in the war; yet no declaration of that nature was made for a conſiderable time after the anſwer to his ultimate propoſitions had been received by the king of Spain. His preparations were not at that time in a ſufficient ſtate of forwardneſs: And the addreſs of his miniſters, in timing the proper moments of interpoſition, was as conſpicuous as their general policy in ſuffering him to be led into the war was utterly reprehenſible. In the preceding year, the offer of mediation was not made until after the return of the ſhips and troops that had been employed in America, during the late diſputes between Spain and Portugal, and the arrival of the rich annual fleets, which bring home the treaſures of Mexico and Peru. And, in the preſent year, the declaration which announced war was not delivered to the Britiſh miniſtry until it was morally certain, that the junction of the French and Spaniſh fleets, both of which were then at ſea, could not be impeded. A momentary attention to dates will put this matter beyond a doubt. The French fleet ſailed from Breſt on the fourth of June, and ſteered for the coaſt of Spain; the Britiſh fleet being then, and for ten days afterwards, in harbour. On the ſixteenth of June the hoſtile reſcript was delivered to the Britiſh miniſtry, which announced the determination of the Spaniſh court to join with France in the war; and on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month a junction was made between the French and Spaniſh fleets. Thus it is apparent, that the Spaniſh miniſtry delayed coming to an open rupture, until, from the certainty of uniting their naval force with that of France, they had reaſon to expect, not only to be able to protect their own trade from moleſtation, but, by the magnitude of the combined fleets, to wreſt the empire of the ſea from the Britiſh nation.

To foreign powers the ſituation of Great Britain, at this critical moment, ſeemed beyond meaſure perilous. Thirteen of her colonies in open inſurrection, and two powerful maritime ſtates of Europe combined for her deſtruction, without a ſingle ally diſpoſed to ſtretch forth a helping arm, were, to them, certain indications of her approaching downfall; and they viewed the proſpect with a malignant pleaſure, or, at the leaſt, with indifference. But it ſoon appeared that thoſe who entertained ſuch ſentiments were not ſufficiently acquainted with the extent of the national reſources, or the firmneſs of the Britiſh ſpirit, which diſdained tamely to yield to any hoſtile combination, however powerful. The union of Spain with France had for ſome time been foreſeen; and the moſt vigorous preparations were made to reſiſt the impending ſtorm. Gibraltar, where an attack was expected, was, in the ſpring of the year, reinforced with troops, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions, ammunition, and ſtores. A fleet of tranſports, with a reinforcement of troops, and a large ſupply of proviſions and warlike ſtores, under the convoy of admiral Arbuthnot, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war, was ready to ſail for America by the beginning of May: And it was propoſed, with the channel fleet, to block up the harbour of Breſt, ſo as to prevent a junction between the French and Spaniſh fleets, a meaſure which it was ſuppoſed would be attempted, as ſoon as Spain ſhould throw off the maſk and declare for war. But unfortunate incidents frequently mar the beſt-concerted deſigns; and part of this arrangement was prevented from taking place, and another conſiderably impeded, by the conſequences of an unexpected attack made upon the iſland of Jerſey.

French attack on Jerſey, repelled.

Whilſt admiral Arbuthnot was proceeding down the channel with his convoy, on the ſecond of May, he received intelligence of this attack, and immediately ſailed, with part of the ſquadron, for the relief of the iſland; leaving the reſt, with the convoy, to proceed to Torbay, and wait his return. Upon his arrival off Guernſey he found that the French had been repulſed, and prevented from landing in Jerſey, and were returned to the coaſt of France. And as his aſſiſtance was no longer neceſſary, he altered his courſe, and ſailed for Torbay to rejoin the convoy.

Although the French had been repulſed, the expedition againſt Jerſey was not abandoned. The ſmall ſquadron which accompanied it, conſiſting of three frigates, a cutter, and ſome ſmaller veſſels,

1779.

ſtill hovered on the coaſt of France, waiting for an opportunity to renew the attack. But, during this interval, ſir James Wallace in the Experiment, with the Pallas, Unicorn, Fortune, and Chabot brig, who had been ſent in purſuit of it, got ſight of the French ſquadron, and drove it into Concalle Bay, where all the ſhips were run a-ſhore under cover of a battery. Sir James Wallace was nevertheleſs determined either to take or deſtroy them. The Experiment was already ſo near as to be conſiderably annoyed by the battery; and the pilots refuſing to take charge of her any farther, her brave commander, with the characteriſtic boldneſs of a Britiſh ſeaman, took the charge upon himſelf, laid her a-breaſt of the battery, and ſoon ſilenced it. The French ſhips were now abandoned by their crews, and boarded by the boats from the Britiſh ſquadron. The French cutter was ſcuttled as ſhe lay on the ſhore, two of the frigates were burnt, and the third, with the ſmaller veſſels, was towed off in triumph *. And by this gallant action the iſland of Jerſey was freed from all preſent apprehenſions of danger.

Naval tranſactions.

The neceſſary deviation from his courſe made by admiral Arbuthnot for the relief of Jerſey, although as little time as poſſible was loſt by it, was nevertheleſs unfortunately, and without any blame to be imputed to him, the cauſe of much ſubſequent delay. His fleet, which had anchored in Torbay, was prevented from ſailing for near a month by contrary winds: And, when it did ſail, the paſſage became ſo tedious, in conſequence of the weſterly winds that prevail in the Atlantic in the latter part of the ſummer, that he did not arrive at New York, as we have already ſeen, until the campaign was

almoſt

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* Ships and Veſſels taken and deſtroyed at Concalle Bay.

La Danae, 34 guns, taken.	Le Recluſe, 24 guns, burnt.
La Valeur, 26 guns, burnt.	Le Dieppe, 16 guns, ſcuttled.

A brig and two ſloops taken, and ſeveral fiſhing-boats, and other ſmall craft, deſtroyed.

almoſt over. Another conſequence, that followed from this delay, was not leſs injurious. It was feared that, during the interval of detention, the French might have become acquainted with the force under admiral Arbuthnot, and the value of his convoy, which was immenſe, and thence been tempted to form ſome ſcheme for attacking him on his paſſage, and intercepting the convoy. To prevent the effect of ſuch a ſcheme, if it was formed, and for the greater ſecurity of the convoy, ten ſhips from the channel fleet were detached, under admiral Darby, to accompany Arbuthnot a certain diſtance on his paſſage: And the weakening of the channel fleet, by ſending away ſo conſiderable a detachment, was the cauſe of delaying the execution of the plan for blocking up the harbour of Breſt. The French did not fail to profit by the delay: So eager were they to ſend the Breſt fleet to ſea, that eight thouſand land-forces were embarked to ſupply the want of ſo many ſeamen; and with this kind of equipment it ſailed from Breſt on the fourth of June. Count d'Orvilliers, who commanded it, had two objects in view: One was, to intercept the ſquadron under admiral Darby in its return; and the other, to form a junction with the Spaniſh fleet. In the firſt he failed, admiral Darby having returned in ſafety to the channel; but in the ſecond he ſucceeded, and joined the fleet of Spain on the twenty-fourth of June. The two fleets, when united, amounted to more than ſixty ſail of the line, with nearly an equal number of frigates; and ſoon after the junction they ſteered for the Britiſh channel.

The Britiſh fleet, under ſir Charles Hardy, who was appointed to the command upon the reſignation of admiral Keppel, was by this time alſo at ſea. It conſiſted of thirty-eight ſhips of the line, with ſometing leſs than its due proportion of frigates, and cruiſed in that part of the ſea which, in nautical phraſeology, is called the chops, or mouth, of the channel. The great ſuperiority of the com-

1779.

The combined fleets of France and Spain threaten an invaſion of Great Britain.

combined fleet, in the number of ſhips, guns, and men, ſeemed to juſtify the forebodings of thoſe who prognoſticated the ruin of the Britiſh empire; and, to add to the dangers of the preſent moment, preparations were made on the French coaſt, and an invaſion of Great Britain was threatened under cover of the combined fleet. On the other hand, every precaution was taken by the Britiſh government, which prudence ſuggeſted, for defeating the expected attack. A proclamation was iſſued, ordering the cattle and draught-horſes to be driven from thoſe parts of the ſea-coaſt on which a landing ſhould be effected; the militia was embodied; and numerous cruiſers were ſtationed in the narrow ſeas, to watch the enemy's motions. And theſe efforts of the government were nobly ſeconded by thoſe of private individuals; for ſuch energy had the national ſpirit acquired under the proſpect of the difficulties that ſurrounded, and the dangers that threatened, that meetings were held in moſt of the principal towns, and voluntary contributions made to raiſe men for the defence of the nation.

About the middle of Auguſt, count d'Orvilliers, with the combined fleet, paſſed the Britiſh fleet under ſir Charles Hardy, in the mouth of the channel, without either fleet having diſcovered the other, and proceeded on as far as Plymouth; taking in the way the Ardent, a Britiſh ſhip of war, on her paſſage to join ſir Charles Hardy. The count d'Orvilliers made no attempt to land, but continued for ſeveral days parading with the combined fleet in ſight of Plymouth, until a ſtrong eaſterly wind ſet in, and compelled him to quit the channel. As ſoon as this abated, he returned to the coaſt of England, and cruiſed off the Land's End. The ſame eaſterly wind had alſo driven the Britiſh fleet to ſea; but, on the laſt day of Auguſt, ſir Charles Hardy regained his former ſtation, and entered the channel in full view of the enemy, who did not attempt to moleſt him. He now endeavoured to entice them into the narrower part of the channel, where their great ſuperiority in number would have leſs availed them; and they followed him as high as Plymouth, but choſe to proceed no farther. Their crews were ſaid to be ſickly; their ſhips to be in bad condition: And the ſeaſon for equinoctial gales was faſt approaching. They therefore ſoon afterwards quitted the Engliſh Channel, and entered the harbour of Breſt. Thus all the apprehenſions which had been raiſed were quickly diſſipated: And nothing was done anſwerable to the mighty expectations that had been formed from the union and co-operation of two ſuch powerful fleets. Even during their cruiſe, commodore Johnſtone, with a ſquadron of Britiſh ſhips, hovered on the coaſt of France and kept it in alarm. The trade of the enemy was every-where annoyed by the Britiſh cruiſers, and their merchant-ſhips taken, even at the entrance of their harbours. On the other hand, the Britiſh trade was leſs injured than in the preceding year: One of her homeward-bound fleets from the Weſt Indies, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty-five ſail, arrived in ſafety juſt before the combined fleets entered the channel; and ſcarcely had they left it, when another fleet from the Eaſt Indies was equally fortunate. Sir Charles Hardy continued to cruiſe with the channel fleet until it was late in the ſeaſon: And, notwithſtanding the apparent ſuperiority of the enemy, Great Britain, in effect, ſtill remained maſter of the ſea.

The only one of the homeward-bound Britiſh fleets that ſeemed to be in any danger, was that from the Baltic, under the convoy of the Serapis, captain Pierſon, and the Counteſs of Scarborough, captain Piercy, the firſt a ſhip of forty-four, and the other of twenty guns. This fleet was attacked near Scarborough, on the northern coaſt of England, by a ſquadron under the command of captain Paul Jones, in the ſervice of congreſs, a man of a ſavage and ferocious diſpoſition, hardened by his crimes, and rendered deſperate by the fear of puniſhment. Jones's ſquadron conſiſted of the Bon Homme Richard, CHAP. XXXII.

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Engagement between captain Paul Jones and the convoy of a Britiſh fleet from the Baltic.

Richard, a ſhip of forty guns; two frigates, one of thirty-ſix, and the other of thirty-two guns; the Vengeance brig of twelve guns, and a cutter; and was fitted out from Port l'Orient in the end of July, for the purpoſe of intercepting the Britiſh fleet from the Baltic. But by the good conduct and perſevering bravery of captain Pierſon, the convoy was ſaved, although both the king's ſhips were taken. As ſoon as the enemy was diſcovered, a ſignal was made for all the ſhips of the convoy to run in ſhore, and endeavour to make a harbour, whilſt captain Pierſon ſet all the ſail he could to get between them and the enemy; and as ſoon as he came near enough to diſcover the ſuperior force which he had to contend with, another ſignal was made for the Counteſs of Scarborough to join him. Jones ſhewed no backwardneſs to engage: He ſteered directly for the Serapis, and brought-to within muſket-ſhot of her larboard bow, about half after ſeven in the evening. An engagement immediately commenced, and not more than two or three broadſides were exchanged, when Jones attempted to board the Serapis; but he was ſoon repulſed, and obliged to ſheer off. In a ſecond attempt the two ſhips became entangled, and dropped alongſide of each other ſo cloſe, that the muzzles of the guns touched the ſides of the oppoſite ſhip. In this ſituation the engagement was continued till half an hour after ten, during which the Serapis was frequently ſet on fire by the combuſtibles thrown into her from the Bon Homme Richard; and, in the confuſion, a cartridge took fire, which, communicating to others, blew up all the officers and men ſtationed abaft the main-maſt, and rendered the guns in that quarter of the ſhip totally unſerviceable. Throughout the whole of the action, the Alliance, the largeſt of Jones's frigates, ſailed round, and, as opportunities offered, poured her broadſides into the Serapis; and, towards the concluſion of the engagement, coming under her ſtern, raked her fore-and-aft, and killed or wounded ſo many of her men, that captain Pierſon, ſeeing no proſpect of being able to extricate the Serapis, thought it cruelty to his people longer to continue the action, and ſtruck his colours. The Counteſs of Scarborough, although ſo much inferior in force, had engaged the Pallas, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, for nearly two hours, but was at length obliged to ſtrike; her rigging being cut to pieces, ſeven of her guns diſmounted, four of her people killed, and twenty badly wounded: And, to cut off all hopes of ſucceſs from a further reſiſtance, juſt before ſhe ſtruck, the other frigate came up on her larboard quarter, and was ready to join in the action. The carnage on board the Serapis was great: It amounted, according to the beſt account that captain Pierſon was enabled to give, to forty-nine killed, and ſixty-eight wounded; but he had reaſon to believe, although this was all the loſs which he was able to aſcertain with preciſion, that in reality it was much greater. His ſhip too had ſuſtained very conſiderable damage; and the mainmaſt went by the board juſt as ſhe ſtruck. But the ſcene which preſented itſelf on board the Bon Homme Richard was horrible beyond deſcription. Her quarter and counter on the lower deck were entirely driven in, and the whole of her guns on that deck diſmounted. She was on fire in two different places; had ſeven feet of water in her hold; and her decks ſtreamed with the blood of the killed and wounded, which, according to captain Pierſon's account, amounted to three hundred and ſix, a number more than three-fourths of her crew. Under ſuch circumſtances of accumulated horror and diſtreſs, none but a deſperado would have continued the engagement; but their ruffian commander was ſeen ſeveral times during the action without his coat, and with his ſhirt-ſleeves tucked up beyond his elbows, running about the ſhip, and brandiſhing a naked cutlaſs to keep his men at their quarters. To him, who, it ſeems, was a native of Galloway in Scotland, and who, it is ſaid, had, by his crimes, forfeited his life to the laws of his country, before he entered into the ſervice of congreſs, it was eligible to fall in battle rather than by the hands of the executioner: But, to a commander of any humanity, the lives of the people entruſted to his care, are an object of the utmoſt attention; and, to ſuch a commander, reſiſtance appears unjuſtifiable, after it becomes hopeleſs. The iſſue of the engagement in favour of the Bon Homme Richard may therefore be aſcribed to the different circumſtances under which the two commanders acted, as much as to the diſparity of force. The damage done to the Bon Homme Richard was ſo great that it could not be repaired; the water gained upon her ſo faſt, that ſhe ſunk in leſs than two days afterwards, with ſome of her wounded men on board. By this engagement two of his majeſty's ſhips were loſt; but a valuable convoy were ſaved. The brave reſiſtance made by captain Pierſon gave the ſhips of the convoy time to eſcape; and enabled them to take ſhelter in the different harbours on the ſea-coaſt before they could be overtaken.

The declaration which announced hoſtilities on the part of the Spaniſh nation was not made until every thing had been previouſly prepared for acting with effect. The grand Spaniſh fleet had either ſailed, or was ready to ſail: Troops were in motion to occupy the works at St. Roque, and inveſt Gibraltar by land, whilſt a naval force was proceeding to block it up by ſea: And orders had been diſpatched to the governors of their foreign poſſeſſions to prepare them for the rupture. With the help of ſuch previous arrangements it was hoped, whilſt Great Britain was embarraſſed with the complicated operations of ſo extenſive a war, that Spain might with eaſe recover back ſome of the poſſeſſions that had been wreſted from her in leſs auſpicious times; and Gibraltar in Europe, and the province of Weſt Florida in North America, appear to have been marked out as the firſt objects of attack.

General Elliott, that brave and gallant veteran, commanded at Gibraltar; and the garriſon had been largely reinforced. With ſuch advantages, added to the natural ſtrength of the place, the reduction of it was thought impracticable, in any other way than by blockade: It was therefore inveſted both by ſea and land; and the blockade was formally notified to all the maritime powers in amity with Spain, that they might not attempt to furniſh it with ſupplies. But in this reſpect the Britiſh miniſtry had anticipated the views of Spain, and, under the apprehenſion of a rupture, had not only largely reinforced Gibraltar with troops, but plentifully ſupplied it with proviſions and ſtores; ſo that an attack upon a place of ſuch ſtrength, ſo amply provided with every thing neceſſary to hold out againſt a ſiege, in which the enemy might unprofitably waſte their blood and treaſure, was rather to be wiſhed than regretted.

Blockade of Gibraltar.

It was far otherwiſe with Weſt Florida, a province of large extent, thinly ſettled, and defended by an inconſiderable force. Its weſtern extremity, at a great diſtance from Penſacola, the ſeat of the government, bordered on the Spaniſh province of Louiſiana, from which it was ſeparated only by the river Miſſiſſippi. Weſt Florida was therefore peculiarly expoſed to an attack, not only from its weak ſtate of defence, but from its contiguity to the Spaniſh territories. And Don Bernardo de Galves, the governor of Louiſiana, having been previouſly inſtructed, had made all neceſſary preparations, and was ready to paſs the boundary, as ſoon as he ſhould receive information of the commencement of hoſtilities, intelligence of which, it appears, was communicated to him early in Auguſt, and long before it reached the governor of Weſt Florida.

Incurſion of the Americans into Weſt Florida.

In the preceding year a predatory incurſion had been made into this province by a captain Willing, an American partizan, who, from having been a ſettler upon the Miſſiſſippi, previous to the war, was well acquainted with the countries bordering upon that

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river. He ſet out from Fort Pitt, and, deſcending by the courſes of the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, arrived at a Britiſh ſettlement in Weſt Florida, called Manchac, at the confluence of the river Ibberville with the Miſſiſſippi; and ſuch was the weakneſs of this frontier ſettlement, that with twenty-five men only he entered it, took by ſurpriſe a Britiſh merchant-ſhip, mounting ſixteen guns, that lay there loading with tobacco and indigo, and made himſelf maſter not only of that ſettlement, but of ſome others that adjoined it upon the river Amit. Some of the principal inhabitants made their eſcape, and flying to Penſacola, applied to the governor for aſſiſtance. At that time there were not more than five hundred regular troops in the province, a number not more that ſufficient to garriſon Penſacola, and the fort at Mobille; from which ſervices none of them could be ſpared. But the ſuperintendant for Indian affairs, having conſented to permit a few of the hunters, who were attached to his department, to aſſiſt the inhabitants of Manchac in the recovery of their poſſeſſions; with this ſmall reinforcement they returned, drove out the Americans, and re-poſſeſſed themſelves of their former eſtates and habitations. This irruption of the Americans, together with the apprehenſion of the hoſtile intentions of Spain, was the cauſe of a reinforcement being ſent to Penſacola in the beginning of the preſent year. It conſiſted of a regiment of Germans, and the Maryland and Penſylvania regiments of provincials, under the command of brigadier-general John Campbell; and the whole regular force of the province, after the junction of this detachment, amounted to about one thouſand eight hundred men.

Weſt Florida reduced by the Spaniards.

Soon after the arrival of general Campbell, he detached lieutenant-colonel Dickſon, with five hundred men, to build a fort near the mouth of the Ibberville, for the defence of that part of the frontier. But, from various unexpected obſtructions that occurred, the fort

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was not nearly finiſhed when Don Bernardo de Galves, about the end of Auguſt, entered the province with two thouſand men, having firſt intercepted ſeveral veſſels with ſupplies for the fort, and taken every practicable precaution for preventing intelligence of his operations from being carried to general Campbell. On the twelfth of September he approached Baton Rouge, where lieutenant-colonel Dickſon had taken poſt with his detachment, and thrown up ſome works that were yet unfiniſhed. The place was immediately inveſted, and approaches were made and continued until the twenty-firſt of September, when a battery of heavy cannon was opened upon the works. Theſe, after an inceſſant cannonade for three hours, were found to be untenable: A flag of truce was ſent out with propoſals; and a capitulation was finally entered into for the ſurrender of the poſt. Honourable terms were obtained not only for the garriſon but the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts; and in this manner the Britiſh ſettlements upon the Miſſiſſippi, from the Natches downward, were yielded to the crown of Spain. But this loſs was ſoon afterwards in part compenſated by an acquiſition made in a different quarter.

The Spaniards attack the Britiſh logwood-cutters in Honduras.

It ſeems evident that the ſame proviſionary orders for hoſtilities had been ſent to all the governors of the Spaniſh provinces that bordered on any Britiſh ſettlement; for nearly at the ſame time when Don Bernardo de Galves entered the province of Weſt Florida, the Spaniſh governor of Honduras made an unexpected attack upon the Britiſh logwood-cutters, took many of them priſoners, and expelled the reſt from their principal ſettlement at St. George's Key. General Dalling, governor of Jamaica, who, in conſequence of the rupture with Spain, was apprehenſive that ſuch an attack would be made, had already diſpatched captain Dalrymple, with a ſmall detachment of the Iriſh volunteers, to the Muſquito ſhore, to collect a force for the aſſiſtance of the logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras.

duras. The tranſports which conveyed this detachment, carried alſo a ſupply of arms, ammunition, and ſtores, and arrived at Black River on the Muſquito ſhore on the twenty-ſeventh of September. The ſame day on which they arrived, intelligence was received of the attack made by the Spaniards on St. George's Key; and in conſequence of this intelligence the ſquadron again put to ſea, as ſoon as captain Dalrymple had enliſted ſome volunteers, and collected about ſixty Indians. In their paſſage to Honduras they fell in with a ſquadron of ſhips of war under the command of commodore Luttrell, conſiſting of the Charon, and the Loweſtoff and and Pomona frigates, that had been ſent by ſir Peter Parker, admiral on the Jamaica ſtation, to intercept ſome Spaniſh regiſter-ſhips, of which he had received intelligence.

From commodore Luttrell, information was received that the ſettlers at Honduras, with their ſlaves, had retired to Truxillo, and the iſland of Rattan, on the Muſquito ſhore; that the Spaniards had been already diſpoſſeſſed of St. George's Key, by his majeſty's armed ſchooner Racehorſe; and that the regiſter-ſhips, which were the object of commodore Luttrell's cruiſe, had taken ſhelter in the harbour of Omoa, and were too ſtrongly protected by the fortifications on ſhore to be attacked by ſea. Under ſuch circumſtances it was agreed between the commodore and captain Dalrymple to unite their force, proceed againſt Omoa, and attack it both by ſea and land. The united ſquadron accordingly ſailed firſt for Truxillo, where a number of bay-men and logwood-cutters were collected, armed and embodied; and from thence proceeded againſt Omoa.

Reduction of the Spaniſh fort Omoa, the key of the Bay of Honduras.

On the ſixteenth of October in the evening, the land-force, which, even with the marines and muſquetry-men of the ſhips, and the reinforcement from Truxillo, did not much exceed five hundred men, was diſembarked at Porto Cavallo, a harbour which was ſuppoſed to be not more than nine miles diſtant from Omoa. It had been intended to march forward in the night, ſurpriſe the fort, and take it by eſcalade, before the morning; but the country through which the march was to be performed was difficult, being in ſome parts interſected by lagoons and moraſſes, and in others by ſteep precipices, rendered almoſt impaſſable by the late rains; and through this difficult country only a narrow path led to the fort, which, in the darkneſs of the night, they were obliged to explore with lighted ſplinters of the cabbage-tree: The diſtance too was found to be greater than had been repreſented. By theſe obſtructions the march was ſo much retarded, that, when morning appeared, captain Dalrymple found himſelf ſtill ſix miles from the fort, and his men much fatigued. He ſuffered them to refreſh themſelves for two hours, and then continued his march, putting the Indians in front to ſcour the woods. A body of the enemy was diſcovered lying in ambuſh, about a mile from the fort, and quickly diſloged. The heights round the town, and the fort, with the roads leading to them, were ſecured: Poſts were eſtabliſhed; and ſome of theſe being galled by a ſcattering fire from the houſes in the town, captain Dalrymple found it neceſſary to burn it down. Whilſt the town was in flames, commodore Luttrell's ſquadron entered the bay; and the fort was now inveſted both by ſea and land. Some days were ſpent in landing cannon, and erecting batteries; but, after they were opened, it was quickly perceived, that, although they annoyed the garriſon exceedingly, they made no impreſſion upon the walls of the fort; and that, in this mode, the ſiege might be protracted to an indefinite length. It was therefore determined to cut the matter ſhort by attempting to take the fort by eſcalade, eſpecially as the ditch was obſerved to be dry. The attempt was to be made at four in the morning, by one hundred and fifty Europeans, conſiſting of ſeamen and marines, with a few of the loyal Iriſh, under cover of a cannonade from the ſhips in the bay, and the batteries on the heights. At

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three the detachment allotted for this ſervice moved down from the heights; and in the valley, being formed into four columns, waited with impatience for the ſignal of attack. A little after four the cannonade began, which ſo engaged the attention of the enemy, that the aſſailants, with their ſcaling-ladders, advanced, unperceived, cloſe to the ramparts. As they were ready to enter the ditch, they were diſcovered: The enemy's drums beat to arms, and the alarm was given. The aſſailants, for a moment, ſhrunk back, but, almoſt inſtantly recovering themſelves, ruſhed on into the ditch. The ſcaling-ladders were applied; and the ſeamen mounted the walls with alacrity. Two, who firſt reached the top of the ramparts, preſented their pieces at a body of the enemy aſſembled to oppoſe them, but, according to their orders, reſerved their fire until they were joined by more of their companions. Theſe followed ſo cloſely, that the Spaniards were ſtruck with conſternation, and ſeemed to loſe the power of reſiſtance, notwithſtanding the exertions of their officers to encourage them. About one hundred eſcaped over the walls on the oppoſite ſide of the fort; the reſt fled to the caſements; and the governor and principal officers, now ſeeing their ſituation deſperate, came and ſurrendered their ſwords, with the keys of the fort, to captain Dalrymple. Such was the humanity of the aſſailants, and ſuch the good order preſerved in the aſſault, that only two Spaniards were wounded with the bayonet, while in the act of reſiſtance, and not one was plundered. An inſtance of heroiſm in a ſeaman is mentioned, to which hiſtory affords nothing in its kind ſuperior. He had ſcrambled up the walls with a cutlaſs in each hand, and meeting with an unarmed Spaniſh officer, the generous tar diſdained to take advantage of his helpleſs ſituation; but, preſenting him with one of his cutlaſſes, added—"Now you will be on a footing with me." The Spaniſh gentleman was too much affected with the ſingular generoſity of the action to accept of the offer, and quietly ſurrendered. Unfortunately the name of this brave ſeaman has not been preſerved. The Spaniards, during the ſiege, loſt, in killed and wounded, about thirty men; and three hundred and ſixty-five, with a conſiderable number of officers, were made priſoners. The whole loſs of the beſiegers, in killed and wounded, did not exceed twenty.

Thus eaſily was acquired the important fortreſs of Omoa, the key of the Bay of Honduras, and, in time of war, the receptacle of the treaſure ſent from Guatimala. The fort was built of ſtone, raiſed out of the ſea, and brought from the diſtance of twenty leagues. Its walls were eighteen feet thick; and, although it had coſt the Spaniards twenty years labour, the out-works were not then finiſhed. But, to the captors, the moſt important part of the acquiſition was the two regiſter-ſhips, the value of which, with that of ſome other prizes of leſs note taken in the harbour, was eſtimated at three millions of dollars. A convention was made for an exchange of priſoners; and it was agreed, that thoſe who were taken in Fort Omoa ſhould be exchanged for an equal number of Britiſh ſubjects taken in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniſh governor offered to ranſom the fort at the expence of three hundred thouſand dollars. But as Omoa was thought to be a poſt of great conſequence during a war with Spain, the offer, although an advantageous one to the captors, was immediately rejected; as was a ſimilar one for two hundred and fifty quintals of quickſilver, an article neceſſary for working the Spaniſh mines, and for which a ſum of money would have been given more than double its value.

When the Britiſh ſquadron quitted Omoa, a garriſon was aſſigned to it, ſuch as could be ſpared, and a ſloop of war left in the harbour for its further protection: But it did not long remain in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain. The weakneſs of the garriſon tempted the Spaniards in the neighbourhood to collect a force and inveſt the fort. For a conſiderable time it was defended with great bravery: But, at laſt, both the officers and men, amongſt whom an epidemical fever began to rage, and who, in the whole, amounted only to eighty-five, were ſo weakened and overcome with the fatigue of conſtant duty, one centinel being obliged, by ſhifting his place, to ſerve for five, that they ſaw it would be impoſſible to withſtand an aſſault, which the enemy were preparing to make. They therefore determined to evacuate the fort; but to leave it as unſerviceable as in their circumſtances they could poſſibly make it. After the guns had been ſpiked, and the ammunition and military ſtores deſtroyed, the garriſon, without loſing a ſingle man in the evacuation, embarked on board the veſſels in the harbour, and took a final leave of Omoa.

Protection afforded to the Britiſh commerce.

It has already been obſerved, that had the Britiſh fleet under admiral Byron followed that of France under the count d'Eſtaing, when he made an unſucceſsful attack upon Savannah, it is more than probable, that, to the diſgrace of a repulſe from that town, would have been added the loſs of a great part of his fleet. But the Britiſh fleet, in the ſtation on which it did remain, performed very eminent ſervices to the ſtate under the command of rear-admiral Hyde Parker, who ſucceeded admiral Byron in the fall of the preſent year. The Britiſh commerce in the Weſt Indies was protected, whilſt that of the enemy was almoſt ruined by the capture of their merchantmen. Great part of a convoy bound to Martinique was either taken or deſtroyed, in ſight of the iſland, and of the French ſquadron at Fort Royal, under Monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who, in ſailing out of the harbour to the relief of one of his frigates, was in imminent danger of having his retreat cut off by part of the Britiſh fleet, then cruiſing off the mouth of the bay. And to the captures of their merchantmen are to be added four of the count d'Eſtaing's frigates, on their return to the Weſt Indies from the coaſt of America *.

Thus Great Britain continued to make a noble ſtand againſt the machinations of her foes. And, although the year 1779 muſt be conſidered as unfortunate, in which ſhe loſt two valuable iſlands, without gaining from her enemies a territorial equivalent; it may, nevertheleſs, be doubted whether the loſs of theſe iſlands was not overbalanced by the damage done to the French and Spaniſh commerce, not only in Europe and the Weſt Indies, but in every quarter of the globe.

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* The firſt of theſe frigates was taken on the 24th of October; and from her admiral Parker firſt learnt with certainty, that count d'Eſtaing had gone, with all his fleet, to North America.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Expedition under Sir Henry Clinton to South Carolina—Fortifications of Charleſtown deſcribed—Garriſon of Charleſtown—Siege and Reduction of Charleſtown—Incurſion of the Spaniards into Weſt Florida—Conſequences of the Fall of Charleſtown—Three new Expeditions ſet on foot by the Britiſh Commander—His Addreſs to the Inhabitants of South Carolina—Its Effect—Defeat of the American Colonel Burford—Diſpoſition of the Britiſh Troops in South Carolina—Adminiſtration of Earl Cornwallis there—Counter-revolution among thoſe who had ſubmitted to the Power of Britain on the Fall of Charleſtown—Detachment from Waſhington's Army ſent into North Carolina—Movements of the American Colonel Sumpter—His Attempt on the Britiſh Poſt on Rocky Point.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1780. Expedition under ſir Henry Clinton to South Carolina.

SIR Henry Clinton having been cramped in his operations by the proceedings of the French fleet under the count d'Eſtaing, whoſe unſucceſsful attack upon Savannah, together with his final departure from the American coaſt, has already been related; no ſooner received certain information of the departure of d'Eſtaing than he ſet on foot an expedition, the object of which was the taking of Charleſtown, and the reduction of the province of South Carolina. The troops deſigned for this expedition were immediately embarked on board the tranſports; and theſe, eſcorted by admiral Arbuthnot with an adequate naval force, ſailed from Sandy Hook on the twenty-ſixth of December 1779. Sir Henry Clinton accompanied the expedition, leaving the garriſon at

December.

New York under the command of lieutenant-general Knyphauſen. The paſſage might have been expected to be performed in ten days; but ſuch was the uncommon ſeverity of the ſeaſon, that the fleet was very ſoon ſeparated, and driven out of its courſe by tempeſtuous weather; and ſcarcely any of the ſhips arrived at Tybee, the appointed place of rendezvous, before the end of January. Some few ſtraggling veſſels were taken; ſome others were loſt; and all received more or leſs damage. Almoſt all the horſes belonging to the artillery or cavalry periſhed during the paſſage; and amongſt the ſhips that were loſt was one which contained the heavy ordnance. Fortunately, however, the crews were all ſaved.

Thoſe ſhips being refitted that ſtood in need of immediate repair, the fleet ſailed from Tybee to North Ediſto Sound, in the province of South Carolina; and on the eleventh of February the troops were diſembarked on John's Iſland, about thirty miles from Charleſtown. Part of the fleet was immediately ſent round to block up the harbour of Charleſtown by ſea; whilſt the troops, ſlowly advancing through the country, paſſed from John's to James Iſland; and from thence, over Wappoo Cut, to the main land, until they at length reached the banks of Aſhley River, oppoſite to Charleſtown. So great were the impediments that they met with in their progreſs, or ſuch the extreme caution of the commander in chief, in eſtabliſhing and fortifying poſts to preſerve his communication with the ſea, that it was not until the twenty-ninth of March that the advance of the army croſſed Aſhley River at the ferry, and landed on Charleſtown Neck, ſome miles above the town. The flat-bottomed boats had been brought from North Ediſto Sound, through the inlets by which the coaſt is interſected, until they entered Aſhley River, by Wappoo Cut; and the paſſing over of the troops was conducted with much addreſs by captain Elphinſtone of the navy. On the following day the troops encamped in front of the American lines; and on the firſt of April began to break ground before Charleſtown, at the diſtance of eight hundred yards from the provincial works.

Fortifications of Charleſtown deſcribed.

The ſlow advance of the Britiſh army had given time to the provincials not only to ſtrengthen, but greatly to enlarge, the defences of Charleſtown. Theſe now conſiſted of a chain of redoubts, lines and batteries, extending from Aſhley to Cooper River, upon which were mounted upwards of eighty pieces of cannon and mortars. In front of the lines a canal had been dug, which was filled with water; and from the dam at either end a ſwamp oozed to each river, forming natural impediments where the artificial terminated. Behind theſe were two rows of abbatis, ſome other obſtructions, and, immediately in front of the works, a double-picketted ditch. The works on the right and left were not only of great ſtrength, but advanced ſo far beyond the range of the intermediate lines as to enfilade the canal almoſt from one end to the other: And in the centre was a horn-work of maſonry, which, being cloſed during the ſiege, became a kind of citadel.

Such were the defences of Charleſtown on the only ſide on which it could be approached by land; and, towards the water, numerous batteries covered with artillery forbad the approach of ſhips. But, beſides the ſecurity which Charleſtown derived from its numerous batteries, it was ſtill more effectually protected by the bar, or ſand-bank, at the mouth of the inlet that led from the ſea. This bar was impaſſable by the larger ſhips of war, and rendered the entry of others difficult and dangerous; and, juſt within it, Five Fathom Hole, of a ſufficient depth of water, furniſhed a convenient ſtation for a ſquadron to command the bar, and render the paſſage of it ſtill more difficult and dangerous. This ſtation was occupied by the

American commodore Whipple, with a ſquadron of nine ſail under his command, the largeſt carrying forty-four, and the ſmalleſt ſixteen, guns. After the perils and difficulties of the bar were ſurmounted, before a fleet could reach Charleſtown, Fort Moultrie, upon Sullivan's Iſland, was to be paſſed, the fire from which had, on a former occaſion, proved ſo deſtructive to a Britiſh ſquadron under ſir Peter Parker; and, ſince that period, the works on Sullivan's Iſland had been conſiderably ſtrengthened and enlarged.

Garriſon of Charleſtown.

General Lincoln, truſting to thoſe defences, and at the ſame time expecting large reinforcements from the other colonies, inſtead of remaining with his army in the open country, ſhut himſelf up in Charleſtown, at the earneſt requeſt of the inhabitants, and with the force under his command, amounting to ſeven thouſand men of all denominations under arms, reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity. Great expectations were, undoubtedly, at one time, entertained of the ſuccefsful defence of the bar, from the advantageous poſition of the American ſquadron; but it ſoon appeared that theſe were illuſory: For no ſooner did the Britiſh fleet, on the twentieth of March, approach the bar, with an intention to paſs it, than commodore Whipple quitted his ſtation and retired to Fort Moultrie, leaving admiral Arbuthnot to enter at his leiſure, and occupy the ſtation which the American ſquadron had juſt before quitted. Before the Renown, Roebuck, and Romulus could paſs the bar, it was neceſſary to lighten them, by taking out their guns, proviſion, and water; and in that deſtitute ſituation they lay for ſixteen days, before a favourable opportunity offered for making the attempt. But, when the attempt was made, they effected their paſſage without any oppoſition, except from ſome gallies left by commodore Whipple, which fired upon the boats of the fleet, and endeavoured to prevent them from ſounding the channel. Not long afterwards, commodore

Whipple retired to Charleſtown with his ſhips, part of which he ſtationed in Cooper River; and the reſt, with ſome other veſſels, were ſunk acroſs the mouth of it, to prevent the Britiſh fleet from entering. This was a moſt important precaution; for had the Britiſh fleet been permitted to gain the poſſeſſion of Cooper River, the larger ſhips might have been ſo ſtationed as to rake the American lines; the only communication that remained between the town and the country would have been interrupted; all hopes of obtaining ſupplies and reinforcements cut off, and the duration of the ſiege, in all probability, greatly ſhortened.

As ſoon as the Britiſh began to erect batteries againſt the town, admiral Arbuthnot embraced the firſt favourable opportunity that offered for paſſing Fort Moultrie; and on the ninth of April, with a ſtrong ſoutherly wind and flowing tide, he weighed anchor, and effected his purpoſe with very little loſs. His ſquadron conſiſted of the Renown of fifty, the Romulus and Roebuck, each of forty-four guns; the Richmond, Blonde, Raleigh, and Virginia, frigates, and the Sandwich armed ſhip; and although, in paſſing, the ſhips were expoſed to a heavy cannonade from Fort Moultrie, their whole loſs of men, in killed and wounded, amounted only to twenty-ſeven; and the damage done to them in other reſpects was equally inconſiderable. As their entry into Cooper River was precluded, they anchored near Fort Johnſton, juſt without the range of ſhot from the batteries of the town.

The ſame day on which the fleet paſſed Fort Moultrie, the firſt parallel of the beſiegers was finiſhed; and the town being now almoſt completely inveſted, both by ſea and land, the Britiſh commanders ſummoned general Lincoln to ſurrender. His anſwer was ſhort, but firm, and conveyed an implied reflection againſt the Britiſh commanders for their ſuppoſed tardineſs in making their approaches:

proaches:—"Sixty days," ſaid he, "have paſſed ſince it has been "known that your intentions againſt this town were hoſtile, in which "time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination "point to the propriety of ſupporting it to the laſt extremity."

Siege of Charleſtown.

The ſummons being ineffectual, the batteries of the firſt parallel were opened upon the town, and ſoon made a viſible impreſſion. But ſtill the communication between the country and the garriſon was kept open acroſs Cooper River; and on the very day on which the ſummons was ſent to general Lincoln, the American general Woodford paſſed Cooper River with ſeven hundred continental troops, and entered the town. To aſſiſt in preſerving this communication, general Lincoln had left his cavalry without the lines, with orders to traverſe and keep open the country to the eaſtward of Cooper River, as being that through which he expected to receive his reinforcements; and by the ſame route he hoped to be able to make good his retreat with the garriſon, if at laſt he ſhould find the town no longer tenable *.

To

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* The underwritten Letter was intercepted and publiſhed by Sir Henry Clinton's orders during the ſiege of Charleſtown.

South Carolina, May 11, 1780.

From B. Smith to Mrs. Benjamin Smith, dated Charleſtown, April 30, 1780.

HAVING never had an opportunity of writing to her ſince the enemy began to act with vigour, and knowing that a thouſand evil reports will prevail to increaſe her uneaſineſs—mine I have ſupported pretty well until laſt night, when I really almoſt ſunk under the load:—Nothing remains around to comfort me but a probability of ſaving my life, - - - - - After going through many difficulties, our affairs are daily declining, and not a ray of hope remains to aſſure us of ſucceſs. - - - The enemy have turned the ſiege into a blockade, which, in a ſhort time, muſt have the deſired effect; and the moſt ſanguine do not now entertain the ſmalleſt hope of the town being ſaved. The enemy have continued their approaches with vigour continually, ſince I wrote the incloſed, and are now completing batteries about two hundred yards diſtance from our lines; they fire but ſeldom from their cannon, but their popping off rifles and ſmall-arms do frequent miſchief, and every night throw out an amazing number of ſhells amongſt our people at the lines, which, though not attended with the damage that might reaſonably be expected, do ſome miſchief. Our communication is entirely

To cut off the retreat of the garriſon, and to prevent it from receiving reinforcements, were objects of ſuch importance that they had not eſcaped the attention of the Britiſh general.[*] But the maintaining his own communications with the ſea had required all the troops he could ſpare from the immediate operations of the ſiege, until the Britiſh fleet paſſed Fort Moultrie, and gained the command of the water between it and Charleſtown. From this time ſir Henry Clinton felt no farther apprehenſion about his own com-

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tirely cut off from the country (excepting by a ſmall boat at great riſque) by lord Cornwallis, who occupies every landing-place from Haddrill's Point, a conſiderable way up the river, with two thouſand five hundred men. When I wrote laſt, it was the general opinion that we could evacuate the town at pleaſure; but a conſiderable reinforcement having arrived to the enemy, has enabled them to ſtrengthen their poſts ſo effectually as to prevent that meaſure. The ſame cauſe prevents our receiving further ſupplies of proviſions or reinforcements, and a ſhort time will plant the Britiſh ſtandard on our ramparts. You will ſee by the incloſed ſummons that the perſons and properties of the inhabitants will be ſaved; and conſequently I expect to have the liberty of ſoon returning to you; but the army muſt be made priſoners of war. This will give a rude ſhock to the independence of America; and a Lincolnade will become as common a term as Burgoynade: But I hope we ſhall in time recover this ſevere blow. However, before this happens, I hope I ſhall be permitted to return home, where I muſt ſtay, as my ſituation will not permit me to take any further an active part; and therefore my abandoning my property will ſubject me to many inconveniencies and loſſes, without being any way ſerviceable to the country. - - - This letter will run great riſque, as it will be ſurrounded on all ſides; but as I know the perſon to whoſe care it is committed, and feel for your uneaſy ſituation, I could not but truſt it. Aſſure yourſelf that I ſhall ſhortly ſee you, as nothing prevents Lincoln's ſurrender but a point of honour in holding out to the laſt extremity. This is nearly at hand, as our proviſions will ſoon fail; and my plan is to walk off as ſoon as I can obtain permiſſion. - - - - Should your father be at home, make him acquainted with the purport of this letter, and remember me to him; alſo to your mother, but do not let the intelligence go out of the houſe, - - - - but a mortifying ſcene muſt firſt be encountered: The thirteen ſtripes will be levelled in the duſt, and I owe my life to the clemency of a conqueror.

Your ever affectionate huſband,

(Signed) B. SMITH.

Note. Thoſe parts filled up with *hyphens* contain expreſſions of tenderneſs to his wife, no way intereſting to the public; for which reaſon we have omitted to publiſh them.

munications, and was enabled to detach lieutenant-colonel Webſter, with one thouſand four hundred men, to cut off thoſe of the enemy. By the advanced guard of this detachment, compoſed of Tarleton's legion and Ferguſon's corps, the American cavalry, with the militia attached to them, were ſurpriſed in the night of the fourteenth of April, at Biggin's Bridge, near Monk's Corner, thirty-two miles from Charleſtown, and completely routed and diſperſed, with the loſs of all his ſtores, camp equipage, and baggage *.

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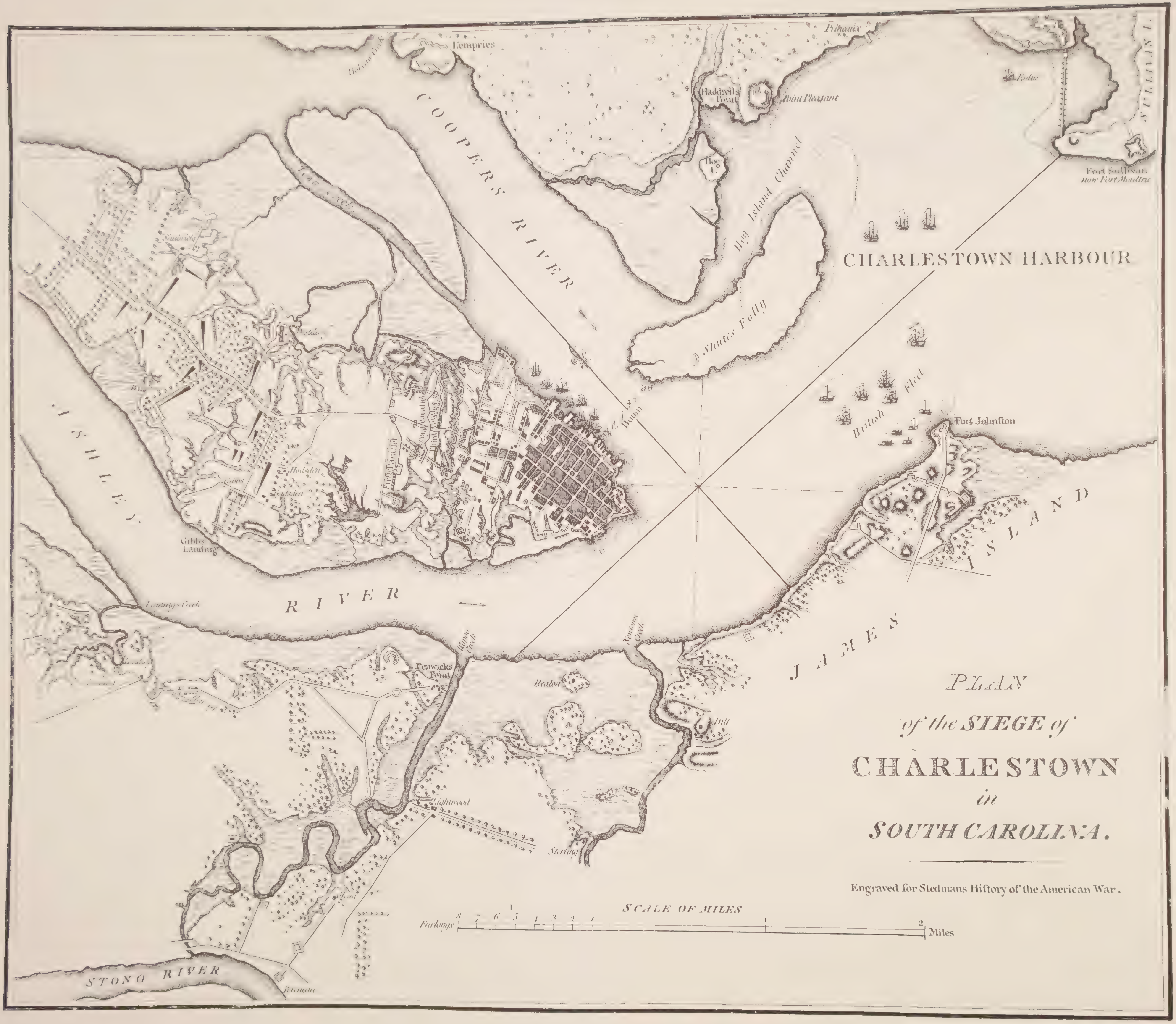
* Forty-two large waggons, one hundred and two waggon-horſes, eighty-two dragoon-horſes, and ſeveral officers horſes; a quantity of ammunition, flour, butter, clothing, camp and horſe equipage; harneſs for all the waggons; all the officers clothing and baggage; together with five puncheons of rum, ſix hogſheads of muſcovado ſugar, four barrels of indigo, a quantity of tea, coffee, ſpices, nails in caſks, ſome French cloth, three barrels of gunpowder, light-dragoon ſwords, &c. &c. found in a ſtore, which was ſet on fire, and blown up by the careleſſneſs of the centinel, who, in going to draw ſome rum, ſet it on fire, and in a ſhort time the ſtore was blown up. The loſs of the Americans, in men, was major Birnie of Pulaſki's legion of dragoons, three captains, one lieutenant, and ten privates, killed; fifteen privates, one captain, and two lieutenants, wounded; fifty-eight privates, two captains, and three lieutenants, taken priſoners, including the wounded. Major Birnie was mangled in the moſt ſhocking manner; he had ſeveral wounds, a ſevere one behind his ear. This unfortunate officer lived ſeveral hours, reprobating the Americans for their conduct on this occaſion, and even in his laſt moments curſing the Britiſh for their barbarity, in having refuſed quarter after he had ſurrendered. The writer of this, who was ordered on this expedition, afforded every aſſiſtance in his power; and had the major put upon a table, in a public-houſe in the village, and a blanket thrown over him. The major, in his laſt moments, was frequently inſulted by the privates of the legion: Some dragoons of the Britiſh legion attempted to raviſh ſeveral ladies at the houſe of ſir John Collington, in the neighbourhood of Monk's Corner. Mrs. ——— the wife of Doctor ——— of Charleſtown, was moſt barbarouſly treated; ſhe was a moſt delicate and beautiful woman. Lady ——— received one or two wounds with a ſword. Miſs ———, ſiſter to major ———, was alſo ill treated. The ladies made their eſcape, and came to Monk's Corner, where they were protected; a carriage being provided, they were eſcorted to the houſe of Mr. ———. The dragoons were apprehended and brought to Monk's Corner, where, by this time, colonel Webſter had arrived and taken the command. The late colonel Patrick Ferguſon (of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter) was for putting the dragoons to inſtant death. But colonel Webſter did not conceive that his powers extended to that of holding a general court-martial. The priſoners were however ſent to head-quarters, and, I believe, were afterwards tried and whipped.

By this defeat a paſſage was opened acroſs the head branches of Cooper River for the remainder of the detachment to move forward and occupy the country to the eaſtward of it. Some days afterwards, by the arrival of a reinforcement from New York, the commander in chief was enabled to ſend another detachment acroſs Cooper River; and the command of the whole was given to earl Cornwallis.

The force detached to the eaſtward of Cooper River was now ſo conſiderable as to cut off from the garriſon all reaſonable hopes of effecting a retreat. A council of war was called; and by their advice, an offer was made for ſurrendering the town on certain conditions: But the conditions propoſed were of ſuch a nature as could not be acceded to by the Britiſh commanders, and were of courſe inſtantly rejected. In the mean time the beſiegers were daily advancing their works: The ſecond parallel was completed on the twentieth of April, and the third on the ſixth of May. The laſt of theſe had been puſhed ſo near to the provincial works as to be cloſe to the canal; and the canal, for a conſiderable part of its extent, was quickly drained of its water by a ſap carried to the dam.

The misfortunes of the beſieged now crowded faſt upon them. On the ſame day on which the third parallel was completed, the garriſon of Fort Moultrie ſurrendered to captain Hudſon of the navy, who had been landed on Sullivan's Iſland, with two hundred ſeamen and marines, to attack the fort by land, whilſt the ſhips prepared to batter it from the water; and, on the ſame day alſo, the broken remains of the American cavalry, which had been collected with great care by a colonel White, were again defeated by colonel Tarleton on the banks of the Santee. Whilſt the Americans lay under the preſſure of theſe accumulated misfortunes, the Britiſh commanders, with a view of ſaving the effuſion of blood, thought proper once more to open a correſpondence with general Lincoln for the

ſur-


Lempries
Prineaux
Haddrells Point
Point Pleasant
Eolus
Sullivans
Fort Sullivan now Fort Moultrie
Hog I.
Hog Island Channel
COOPERS RIVER
Town Creek
Shutes Folly
CHARLESTOWN HARBOUR
Boom
British Fleet
Fort Johnston
JAMES ISLAND
ASHLEY RIVER
Hodsdon
Gadsden
Gibbs
Gibbs Landing
Wappoo Creek
Fenwicks Point
Beaton
Newtown Creek
Dill
Lightwood
Sterling
STONO RIVER
SCALE OF MILES
Furlongs
8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
1
2
Miles

PLAN of the SIEGE of CHARLESTOWN in SOUTH CAROLINA.

Engraved for Stedmans History of the American War.

ſurrender of the town: But the garriſon or the inhabitants were not yet ſufficiently humbled to accept of the terms that were offered; and hoſtilities were recommenced. The batteries of the third parallel opened upon the town, and did great execution; and at this ſhort diſtance the Heſſian yagers, poſted advantageouſly, fired their rifles with ſuch effect, that numbers of the beſieged were killed at their guns, and ſcarcely any eſcaped who ventured to ſhew themſelves over the lines. During this fire, which continned for two days without intermiſſion, the beſiegers gained the counterſcarp of the outwork that flanked the canal; the canal itſelf was paſſed; and the works were advanced almoſt to the verge of the ditch. The hopes of the inhabitants now forſook them: All the horrors of an aſſault preſented themſelves to their affrighted imaginations; and they joined in a petition to general Lincoln, praying him to accept the terms which had been offered. A flag of truce was accordingly ſent out with a propoſition to that effect. And, whatever ſevere juſtice might have dictated, the Britiſh commanders, unwilling to preſs to unconditional ſubmiſſion a reduced enemy, whom clemency might yet reconcile, accepted the propoſition, and agreed to grant the ſame terms which had been before rejected. The capitulation was ſigned on the twelfth of May; and on the ſame day the garriſon laid down their arms, and major-general Leſlie took poſſeſſion of the town.

Reduction of Charleſtown.

By the articles of capitulation the garriſon were allowed ſome of the honours of war: They were to march out and depoſit their arms between the canal and the works of the place; but the drums were not to beat a Britiſh march, nor the colours to be uncaſed: The continental troops and ſeamen, keeping their baggage, were to remain priſoners of war until exchanged: The militia were to be permitted to return to their reſpective homes as priſoners on parole;

and,

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1780.

and, while they kept their parole, were not to be moleſted in their property by the Britiſh troops: The citizens of all deſcriptions were to be conſidered as priſoners on parole, and to hold their property in the town on the ſame terms as the militia: The officers of the army and navy were to retain their ſervants, ſwords, piſtols, and baggage, unſearched; they were permitted to ſell their horſes, but not to remove them out of the town: And a flag of truce was to be furniſhed to carry general Lincoln's diſpatches to Philadelphia unopened.

The loſs of the Britiſh troops, during the ſiege, amounted to ſeventy-ſix killed, and one hundred and eighty-nine wounded; that of the garriſon was not, in the whole, quite ſo much: But in the number of the ſlain was greater. The priſoners taken in Charleſtown, including the deputy governor, and the council of the province, ſeven general officers, a commodore, ten continental regiments, but much reduced; three battalions of artillery, with town and country militia, amounted to more than five thouſand men; to whom muſt be added about one thouſand American and French ſeamen, and near four hundred pieces of ordnance, with a conſiderable quantity of ſtores*.

A Return of the Ships and Veſſels taken or deſtroyed at the Surrender of Charleſtown.

The Bricole, pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, ſunk; her captain, officers, and company priſoners. The Truite, 26 twelve pounders, ſunk; her captain, &c. priſoners. Queen of France, 28 nine pounders, ſunk; her captain, &c. priſoners. General Moultrie, 20 ſix pounders, ſunk; ditto. Notre Dame (brig), 16 ditto, ſunk; ditto. Providence, 32 eighteen and twelve pounders, taken; captain and company priſoners. Boſton, of the ſame force, taken; ditto. Ranger, 20 ſix pounders, taken; ditto.

French Ships. L'Avanture, 26 nine and ſix pounders, commanded by the Sieur de Brulot, Lieutenant de Vaiſſeaux, taken and company. Polacre, 16 ſix pounders, taken.

Some empty brigs, lying at the wharfs, with other ſmall veſſels, were alſo taken, and four armed galleys.

The commander in chief, in his public orders iſſued after the ſurrender of the town, and in his diſpatches to the ſecretary of ſtate, was laviſh in encomiums upon the officers who ſerved under him, and the troops he commanded. The aſſiſtance he received during the ſiege from his general officers, earl Cornwallis, major-generals Leſlie, Huyne, and Koſpotch, and brigadier-general Patterſon, is not only honourably remembered but thankfully acknowledged. The merits of captain Elphinſton of the navy, who conducted all the naval operations relating to the army in its progreſs from North Ediſto to Charleſtown, and in the paſſage of Aſhley River, and alſo of all the other officers and ſeamen ſerving on ſhore during the ſiege, are warmly recommended to the notice of the king, together with the ſervices of the officers and ſoldiers of the royal artillery, the corps of engineers, and in ſhort of every other corps, whether Britiſh or Heſſian, but more particularly of the yager detachment. The names of lieutenant-colonels Webſter and Tarleton, but above all of the chief engineer major Moncrieff, fill up the liſt of brave and meritorious officers that are particularly mentioned. The ſervices of the two firſt of theſe have been already noticed in the progreſs of the ſiege: By the bravery of the one, and the good conduct of the other, the country to the eaſtward of Cooper River was opened to the Britiſh troops, the American cavalry routed and diſperſed, and the communication between the town and the country cut off: And with reſpect to the laſt of theſe officers, no language can expreſs more forcibly than that of the commander in chief, the ſenſe which he entertained of his very extraordinary merit. Theſe are his words: "But to major Moncrieff, the commanding engi-
"neer, who planned, and, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch capable offi-
"cers under him, conducted the ſiege with ſo much judgment,
"intrepidity, and laborious attention, I wiſh to render a tribute of

"the very higheſt applauſe and moſt permanent gratitude; perſuaded that far more flattering commendations than I can beſtow "will not fail to crown ſuch rare merit."

Of this officer it may be remarked, that he was not more happy in the poſſeſſion of ſuperior talents than fortunate in occaſions to diſplay them. The ſucceſſive ſieges of Savannah and Charleſtown furniſhed him with opportunities of exemplifying his ſkill in the two principal branches of his profeſſion, the art of defence, and that of attack: In both, his maſterly deſigns were crowned with ſucceſs; nor is it eaſy to determine in which of them his great attainments in his profeſſion ſhone with brighteſt luſtre.

Incurſion of the Spaniards into Weſt Florida.

Whilſt the Britiſh arms were thus employed in South Carolina, the Spaniards made a freſh incurſion into Weſt Florida, and ſucceeded in reducing the town and fort of Mobille, with the adjoining country. In the month of January Don Bernardo de Galves ſailed from New Orleans, with a fleet conſiſting of ſixteen armed veſſels, and a number of tranſports, having on board one thouſand five hundred regular troops, and five hundred people of colour. On his paſſage he was overtaken by a ſtorm, in which ſeveral of his veſſels were loſt, with a number of his troops, and great part of his proviſions, artillery, and ammunition. With the reſt he arrived off the entrance into Mobille Bay, and landed upon the point of land forming the eaſtern extremity of that inlet, where he remained until he obtained a reinforcement of men, and a freſh ſupply of proviſions, artillery, and ammunition. When theſe arrived, Don Bernardo de Galves again embarked his troops, and, ſailing up the Bay, landed at Dog River, about four miles from Mobille, on the twenty-fifth of February. From thence he advanced againſt the fort, and proceeded to make regular approaches, a waſte of labour and time that ſeemed unneceſſary againſt a place ſo totally unprovided for defence.

fence. The fort had been originally built only as a protection againſt the Indians; and, after it came into the poſſeſſion of Great Britain, had been ſuffered to go to decay, until the beginning of the preſent year, when captain Durnford, the chief engineer at Penſacola, was ſent to put it in a ſtate of defence. But this, it ſeems, was impoſſible, without an immenſe expence of money, and a greater length of time than intervened between his taking the command, and the arrival of the Spaniards. It was garriſoned by a company of the ſixtieth regiment, amounting to eighty-two men, including officers; and to theſe were added, upon the approach of the Spaniards, thirty-ſix ſailors, forty-five militia, and ſixty people of colour. On the fourteenth of March the Spaniards opened a battery upon the fort, of eleven pieces of heavy cannon, which, in twelve hours, damaged its defences ſo entirely, and rendered it ſo untenable, that the commanding officer thought fit to capitulate. Honourable terms were obtained; and, although it was ſcarcely poſſible for the garriſon to hold out longer, their ſurrender at this critical moment was, afterwards, a cauſe of regret, when they were informed that general Campbell, with ſeven hundred men, was then on his march from Penſacola to their relief, and at no great diſtance when the capitulation was ſigned.

Conſequences of the fall of Charleſtown.

By the fall of Charleſtown, the capture of the deputy governor, and the greateſt part of the council, and the defeat and diſperſion of the only regular force which general Lincoln had left without the lines, the war in South Carolina ſeemed entirely ſubdued: And three expeditions, ſet on foot by the commander in chief, immediately after theſe events, appeared well calculated to deepen the impreſſion that had been made, and to extinguiſh every idea of further reſiſtance amongſt the people of the interior country, if any ſuch idea could at that time be ſuppoſed to exiſt. The firſt of theſe ex-

Three new expeditions ſet on foot by the Britiſh commander.

peditions, under lord Cornwallis, was intended to overpower, or drive out of the province, a body of continental troops under a colonel Burford, who, arriving too late in the ſiege to be able to throw ſuccours into Charleſtown, had taken poſt on the northern banks of the Santee; and, being joined by thoſe of the American cavalry who had ſurvived their laſt defeat by Tarleton, made a ſhew of oppoſition to the Britiſh intereſt, and endeavoured to keep alive the expiring hopes of the Americans. The ſecond of theſe expeditions was to proceed up the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Santee to the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, in order to confirm and encourage the loyal, and reduce the diſaffected: And the third, with a ſimilar intention, to move up the banks of Savannah to Auguſta.

His addreſs to the inhabitants of South Carolina.

In the mean time the commander in chief, who had received information that a French armament, with tranſports and troops, might be expected on the coaſt of America, to co-operate with general Waſhington, was buſily employed in preparing for his return to New York, and in eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations for furthering and ſecuring the Britiſh intereſt in South Carolina, as were neceſſary, previous to his departure. A hand-bill was publiſhed and circulated amongſt the inhabitants, by which they were reminded, that as the commander in chief, upon his firſt arrival in the province, had taken no ſtep whatſoever to excite the loyal inhabitants to riſe in favour of government, whilſt the king's troops employed in the ſiege of Charleſtown might be unable to aſſiſt them in their efforts, nor wiſhed to draw the king's friends into danger whilſt any doubt could remain of their ſucceſs; ſo now, that ſucceſs was certain, he truſted that one and all would heartily join, and by a general concurrence give effect to ſuch neceſſary meaſures as might from time to time be pointed out. The helping hand of every man, it was ſaid, was wanted to re-eſtabliſh peace and good government. Thoſe who had families might form a militia to remain at home and preſerve peace and good order in their own diſtricts; whilſt thoſe who were young, and had no families, it was expected would be ready to aſſiſt the king's troops in driving their oppreſſors, and all perſons whatſoever acting under the authority of congreſs, far from the province; and, for this purpoſe, that they ſhould prepare themſelves to ſerve with the king's troops for any ſix out of the next twelve months, under officers of their own choice, and with this expreſs ſtipulation, that they ſhould be allowed, when on ſervice, the ſame pay, ammunition, and proviſions, as the king's troops, and ſhould not be obliged to march beyond North Carolina on the one ſide, or Georgia on the other. Having ſerved for that period, it was ſaid, that they would have paid their debt to their country, would be freed from all further claim of military ſervice, except the uſual militia duty at home, and would be entitled to enjoy undiſturbed that peace, liberty, and ſecurity of property, which they had contributed to eſtabliſh. A proclamation was alſo iſſued by the commander in chief, on the twenty-ſecond of May, by which effectual countenance, protection, and ſupport, were promiſed to the king's faithful and peaceable ſubjects, and the moſt exemplary ſeverity, with confiſcation of property, denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould hereafter appear in arms within the province againſt his majeſty's government, or who ſhould attempt to compel any others to do ſo, or who ſhould hinder or intimidate any of the king's faithful and loving ſubjects from joining his forces, or performing thoſe duties which their allegiance required. And on the firſt of June another proclamation was iſſued, in the name of ſir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, as commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to the colonies, by which a full and free pardon was promiſed to all thoſe who, having been miſled from their duty, ſhould

May.

ſhould immediately return to their allegiance, and a due obedience to the laws, excepting only ſuch as were polluted with the blood of their fellow-citizens, ſhed under the mock forms of juſtice for their loyalty to their ſovereign, and adherence to the Britiſh government: By the ſame proclamation, the promiſe of effectual countenance, protection, and ſupport, was renewed to the loyal and well-affected; and, as ſoon as the ſituation of the province would admit of it, a reinſtatement of the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe rights and immunities which they formerly enjoyed under the Britiſh government; and alſo an exemption from taxation, except by their own legiſlature. Its effect. Theſe meaſures ſeemed well calculated to encourage the loyal, and intimidate the diſaffected; and appear to have produced a conſiderable effect. Moſt of the people round Charleſtown came in, and offered to ſtand forth in defence of the Britiſh government; and not a few actually took up arms, and placed themſelves under the direction of major Ferguſon, who was appointed to command them. General Williamſon, and the militia of the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, ſubmitted to the officer who commanded the expedition into that part of the country; and the inhabitants in the ſouthern parts of the province made the like ſubmiſſion to the Britiſh officer commanding at Beaufort. Nearly about the ſame time alſo, the commander in chief received the pleaſing intelligence that the continental troops and militia under colonel Burford had been completely routed and diſperſed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, who was ſent by lord Cornwallis in purſuit of them. Immediately after the ſurrender of Charleſtown colonel Burford, whoſe force conſiſted of three hundred and eighty continental infantry, a detachment of Waſhington's cavalry, and two ſix pounders, quitted his poſt on the banks of the Santee, and began a retreat up the north-eaſt ſide of that river, with a view of retiring into the back country of North Carolina to join a reinforcement which he expected to meet him by that route. Earl Cornwallis did not begin his march in purſuit of him until the eighteenth of May, and then moved on towards Camden. After croſſing the Santee, and marching ſome days on the road by which Burford had retreated, finding him too far advanced to be overtaken by the main body of his detachment, lord Cornwallis diſpatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with forty men of the ſeventeenth regiment of dragoons, one hundred and thirty of the cavalry of the legion, and one hundred mounted infantry of the ſame corps, to endeavour by forced marches to come up with him. By this officer, after a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, Burford was overtaken at Waxhaws, on the borders of North Carolina, on the twenty-ninth of May, and defeated, with the loſs of almoſt all his detachment, and the whole of his artillery, ammunition, and baggage. The execution done in this action was ſevere: One hundred and thirteen were killed on the ſpot, and two hundred and three made priſoners, of whom one hundred and fifty were badly wounded. Burford made his eſcape by a precipitate flight on horſeback. The king's troops were entitled to great commendation for their activity and ardour on this occaſion, but the virtue of humanity was totally forgot. The loſs of the Britiſh troops was trifling; two officers and three privates being killed, and one officer and fourteen privates wounded *.

Defeat of the American colonel Burford.

The

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* Upon the march to Camden the Britiſh troops were ſupported from the country through which they paſſed. A number of negroes, mounted on horſes, were employed under proper conductors in driving in cattle for the ſupport of the army, and, though they were in general very ſmall, the army was plentifully ſupplied. The cattle were delivered alive to the regiments, who found their own butchers. On the 1ſt of June the royal army took poſſeſſion of Camden, in a day or two after which colonel Tarleton joined the army at Camden, diſtant nearly one hundred miles from Charleſtown. Upon the approach of the army to Camden the author, who had the honour of being commiſſary to the troops under lord Cornwallis, was by his lordſhip ordered to move on in front, to poſt centinels, and take charge of ſuch ſtores as might be found in the town. In conſequence of that order, a mill belonging to a colonel Kerſhaw

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The laſt remains of the continental force in South Carolina being extirpated by the defeat of Burford at Waxhaws, and the inhabitants in moſt parts of the province having either ſubmitted to the Britiſh government, or taken paroles from the officers commanding the detachments ſent amongſt them, the commander in chief, conſidering the province as completely reduced, thought fit, previous to his departure for New York, to alter the condition of thoſe who had ſubmitted upon parole; and, inſtead of conſidering them any longer as priſoners, to require of them the duties, and entitle them to the rights, of active citizens and loyal ſubjects. For this purpoſe a proclamation was iſſued, bearing date the third of June, declaring that all the inhabitants of the province who were priſoners on parole, except thoſe who were in the military line, and thoſe who were in Fort Moultrie, or in Charleſtown, at the time of the ſurrender of thoſe places, or who were then in actual confinement, ſhould, from and after the twentieth of that month, be freed and exempted from all ſuch paroles, and be reſtored to all the rights and duties of citizens and inhabitants: But, by the ſame proclamation, it was alſo declared that all perſons under the above deſcription, who ſhould afterwards neglect

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Kerſhaw was taken poſſeſſion of; in it was found a quantity of wheat and flour. In a ſtore belonging to Joſeph and Eli Kerſkaw was found a quantity of merchandize; 21 rice tierces, 3 hogſheads and a half of indigo, ſome tea, ſugar, coffee, and linen, which were ſent to the general hoſpital. A quantity of ſalt, 20 barrels of flour, 18 ditto Indian corn meal, one hogſhead of rum, a quantity of bacon and hams, butter, brimſtone, axes and wedges, ſent to the engineer department. Rhubarb in root, damaged, ſent to the general hoſpital. A number of hats, and ſome green cloth, diſtributed to the troops. In a barn near the river ninety hogſheads of tobacco, part of which was deſtroyed by the troops, the reſt was ordered by lord Cornwallis to be ſent to Charleſtown. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſhew how the indigo and tobacco were diſpoſed of. Near 100 head of cattle were found in and near the town, together with ſome ſheep. Lord Cornwallis ordered the commiſſaries to give no receipt to colonel Kerſhaw for the property taken from him, as he was deemed a very violent man, and who was ſaid to have perſecuted the loyaliſts. We will hereafter aſſign our reaſons for being ſo particular. A return was made every night to lord Cornwallis of all ſpecies of property taken in the courſe of the day, of its diſtribution, and of the amount in hand.

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to return to their allegiance, and a due ſubmiſſion to his majeſty's government, ſhould be conſidered as enemies and rebels to the ſame, and be treated accordingly. Theſe general regulations having been eſtabliſhed, the commander in chief, on the fifth of June, embarked for New York, carrying with him all the troops that could be ſpared, leaving lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis in the command of thoſe that remained, with the charge of proſecuting the war in North Carolina as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year, and other circumſtances, would permit.

Diſpoſition of the troops in South Carolina.

The force left under lord Cornwallis amounted to about four thouſand men; and as the expedition into North Carolina was neceſſarily delayed, from the heat of the ſeaſon, the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting an army in that province until the harveſt was over, and the neceſſity of forming magazines, with a chain of communications properly ſecured before the expedition was begun, the troops were in the mean time ſo diſpoſed in cantonments as to cover the frontiers both of South Carolina and Georgia, and ſecure their internal quiet. The principal force upon the frontiers was at Camden, under the command of lord Rawdon: It conſiſted of the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, the volunteers of Ireland, the legion cavalry, Brown's and Hamilton's corps of provincials, and a detachment of artillery. Major M'Arthur, with the two battalions of the ſeventy-firſt, was advanced to Cheraw Hill, upon the river Pedee, to cover the country between Camden and Georgetown, and to correſpond with the highland ſettlement on Croſs Creek, in North Carolina: And Georgetown was garriſoned by a detachment of provincials under captain Saunders of the queen's rangers. Camden was connected with the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix by a ſtrong poſt at Rocky Mount, upon the Wateree, garriſoned by the New York volunteers, and ſome militia, under lieutenant-colonel

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Turnbull. At Ninety-ſix were ſtationed three battalions of provincials, and ſome companies of light-infantry; at firſt commanded by lieutenant-colonel Balfour, and afterwards by lieutenant-colonel Cruger. Major Ferguſon's corps of provincials, and a body of loyal militia, were not ſtationary, but traverſed the country between the Wateree and the Saluda, and ſometimes approached the confines of North Carolina. At Auguſta lieutenant-colonel Brown commanded with his own, and detachments from ſome other regiments. The reſt of the troops were ſtationed at Charleſtown, Beaufort, and Savannah: Brigadier-general Patterſon commanding at the firſt of theſe places, and lieutenant-colonel Alured Clarke at the laſt. And at Camden was to be formed the principal magazine for the intended expedition.

Adminiſtration of earl Cornwallis, commander in chief in South Carolina.

Upon earl Cornwallis, as commander in chief in South Carolina, devolved alſo the care of adjuſting the internal affairs, and eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations, whether civil or commercial, as might be neceſſary for its future proſperity; and, to enter upon this arduous taſk, he repaired to Charleſtown, as ſoon as he had fixed the poſts, and cantoned the troops in the manner already mentioned. A correſpondence had been kept up with the loyaliſts in North Carolina: And, as the expedition into that province was neceſſarily delayed, his lordſhip ſent emiſſaries amongſt them to requeſt the well-affected to attend to their harveſt, collect proviſions, and remain quiet till the king's troops were ready to enter the province, which would not be till the end of Auguſt, or beginning of September. But, unfortunately, this prudent and neceſſary admonition was not attended to. A number of loyaliſts in Tryon County having prematurely aſſembled in arms under a colonel More, towards the end of June, were quickly routed and diſperſed by a provincial force under general Rutherford. This unſucceſsful inſurrection furniſhed a pretence for perſecuting the loyaliſts in other parts of the province; their gaols were filled with loyaliſts, and every day added a victim to their gibbets: Such were the ſufferings of the loyaliſts; and ſo haraſſed and oppreſſed were they, that about eight hundred of them, who had intended to wait the approach of the king's troops, at length loſt all patience, and, aſſembling under a colonel Bryan, quitted their habitations and marched towards South Carolina, where they were fortunate enough to arrive unmoleſted, and joined major M'Arthur's detachment at Cheraw Hill. Never was a finer body of men collected; ſtrong, healthy, and accuſtomed to the ſeverity of the climate; had they been properly diſciplined, they might have rendered the moſt important ſervices. Upon their marching into Camden they preſented to our view the horrors of a civil war. Many of them had not ſeen their families for months, having lived in the woods to avoid the perſecution of the Americans. Numbers of them were in rags, moſt of them men of property. There were men in Bryan's corps who poſſeſſed ſome hundred acres of land, farms highly cultivated, and well ſtocked: Theſe, with families and friends, they abandoned, to manifeſt their attachment to the Britiſh government.

In the mean time lord Cornwallis was buſily employed at Charleſtown in forming regulations for the internal government of South Carolina, and in forwarding to Camden the ſupplies wanted for the army upon the intended expedition. A board of police was eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, until the ſituation of the province ſhould admit of the regular reſtoration of its former civil government. Commercial regulations were made for permitting to a certain extent the exportation of the produce of the country; and great pains were taken to inroll the militia, and prepare for aſſiſting in the defence of the province. In moſt caſes paroles were exchanged for protections, accompanied with a renewal of alle-

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Counter-revolution among thoſe who had ſubmitted to the power of Britain on the fall of Charleſtown.

allegiance; and for ſome weeks an univerſal calm ſucceeded the agitations with which the province was lately diſtracted *.

But it was not long before the ſeeds of diſcontent appeared, which, when fully matured, produced a counter-revolution in the minds and inclinations of the people as complete and as univerſal as that which ſucceeded the fall of Charleſtown. Of thoſe originally attached to the American cauſe, who, ſince the capture of Charleſtown, had ſubmitted to the Britiſh government, either by taking the oath of allegiance, or obtaining a parole, ſome were influenced by the ruinous appearance of American affairs, the deſpair of ultimate ſucceſs, and a wiſh to ſave the remains of their property that had eſcaped the ravages and devaſtations of war; others were influenced by the fear of puniſhment, if they perſiſted longer in maintaining an oppoſition apparently fruitleſs; and not a few by the hope of being ſuffered to live quietly upon their eſtates, as priſoners upon parole, and enjoying a kind of neutrality during the remainder of the war. The determination of congreſs to ſend a part of general Waſhington's army to the aſſiſtance of their adherents in South Carolina, and the vigorous exertions of the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina to get a body of men in the field for the ſame purpoſe, quickly diſpelled the apprehenſions of the two firſt of theſe claſſes, and rouſed afreſh their hopes: And the laſt of theſe claſſes of men was very early diſguſted by the proclamation of ſir Henry Clinton, which, without their conſent, abrogated the paroles that

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* From the time that the Britiſh army entered Camden, until this period, it was wholly ſupported by ſupplies from the neighbouring diſtricts. The militia were employed in collecting Indian corn to be ground into meal, which, iſſued when new, made a good ſubſtitute for wheat. They were alſo employed in collecting cattle and ſheep; they were allowed four ſhillings and eight-pence per head for cattle, and two ſhillings and eleven-pence ſterling per head for ſheep (for driving only). The owners had either a receipt, or a certificate, given them (unleſs avowedly hoſtile).

had been granted, and, in one inſtant, converted them either into loyal ſubjects or rebels. If it was proper policy at firſt to hold a middle courſe between theſe oppoſite extremes, the ſame policy required that it ſhould have been continued ſome time longer; and that the condition of the inhabitants ſhould have been altered, rather at their own application, either individually or collectively, than by the arbitrary fiat of the commander in chief. In this manner a proper diſcrimination might have been made between the inhabitants who were really loyal, and thoſe who were nominally ſo: But, by purſuing the oppoſite courſe, they were all blended indiſcriminately together. Even the violent revolutioniſt, unleſs he choſe to leave the country, was obliged to aſſume the appearance of loyalty: And thus the foundation of mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt was laid amongſt the inhabitants themſelves. The revolutioniſts complained that their condition was altered without their concurrence; and the loyaliſts murmured becauſe notorious rebels, by taking the oath of allegiance, and putting on a ſhew of attachment, became entitled to the ſame privileges with themſelves.

The detachment from general Waſhington's army ſent to North Carolina.

Whilſt theſe diſcontents began to prevail, intelligence arrived that major-general baron de Kalbe, with a detachment conſiſting of two thouſand men, from Waſhington's army, had advanced as far as Hillſborough, in North Carolina, and was preparing to move forward to Saliſbury, where colonel Porterfield, with three hundred Virginians, and Rutherford, with ſome North Carolina militia, had taken poſt: That Caſwell, with one thouſand five hundred militia of the ſame province, had marched from Croſs Creek to Deep River, in order to join the baron de Kalbe on the road to Saliſbury; that two thouſand five hundred Virginia militia were upon their march to the ſouthward; and that the aſſembly of Virginia had voted five thouſand men to be immediately draughted from the militia, who were to ſerve as corps of obſervation. This intelligence increaſed the ill-humour of thoſe inhabitants of South Carolina who were diſaffected to the Britiſh government, and cheriſhed the ſpirit of revolt, which began to diſcover itſelf; when not long afterwards information was received that congreſs had determined to make a bold effort for the recovery of South Carolina and Georgia, and that major-general Gates, whoſe fame had been already eſtabliſhed at Saratoga, was appointed to the command of the ſouthern army. Beſides thoſe corps of the enemy already mentioned, a colonel Sumpter, who had fled out of the province after the conqueſt of Charleſtown, had influence enough to attach to himſelf a number of the people in that part of North Carolina where he had taken refuge, and with theſe, joined to ſome refugees from his own province, forming a kind of flying camp, he had advanced as far as the Catawba ſettlement. In conſequence of ſuch threatening movements on the part of the enemy, lord Rawdon found it neceſſary to make an alteration in the diſpoſition of his poſts, with a view of making them more compact; and major M'Arthur, whoſe poſt at Cheraw Hill was moſt expoſed, received orders to fall back.

Movements of the American colonel Sumpter.

About this time, that ſpirit of revolt, which had been hitherto reſtrained by the diſtance of the continental force now advancing to the ſouthward, burſt forth into action: And it made its appearance in two different quarters of the province nearly about the ſame inſtant of time. Ever ſince the fall of Charleſtown the command of the militia, in the diſtrict bordering on the rivers Tyger and Enoree, had been given to a colonel Floyd, their former commander, colonel Neale, a violent perſecutor of the loyaliſts, having fled out of the province. One Liſle, who had belonged to this corps whilſt it was under the command of Neale, and who had been baniſhed to the iſlands upon the ſea-coaſt as a priſoner upon parole, availing himſelf of the commander in chief's proclamation of the third of June, took the oath of allegiance, and exchanged his parole for a certificate of his being a good ſubject. Returning to his former abode, he obtained a command under colonel Floyd, and as ſoon as the battalion of militia was ſupplied with arms and ammunition, had the traiterous addreſs to carry it off to colonel Neale, his former commander, who had joined Sumpter in the Catawba ſettlement. This inſtance of treachery happened in the north-weſt quarter of the province; and nearly about the ſame time a ſimilar inſtance occurred in the north-eaſt part of it. When it became neceſſary for major M'Arthur to retire from Cheraw Hill, he embarked in boats the ſick of his detachment, amounting to near an hundred, and ordered them to fall down the Pedee, to the Britiſh poſt at Georgetown, under an eſcort of militia commanded by colonel Mills; but as ſoon as the boats had proceeded ſo far as to be out of the reach of aſſiſtance from major M'Arthur, the militia roſe upon their commanding officer, and carried the ſick into North Carolina as priſoners. Colonel Mills with ſome difficulty made his eſcape.

His attempt on the Britiſh poſt at Rocky Mount.

Sumpter being joined by the battalion of militia under Liſle, completely armed and furniſhed with ammunition, his active genius led him to undertake without delay ſome enterpriſe againſt the Britiſh out-poſts. Towards the end of July he marched from the Catawba ſettlement with nine hundred men; and on the thirtieth of that month made an attack on the Britiſh poſt at Rocky Mount, where lieutenant-colonel Turnbull commanded, with one hundred and fifty of the corps of New York volunteers, and ſome militia. Rocky Mount was ably defended by Turnbull, with his little garriſon; and Sumpter, after being repulſed in three different attacks, with a conſiderable loſs of men, was obliged to deſiſt. He retreated

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treated again towards the Catawba ſettlement, without being diſcouraged by the want of ſucceſs; and, as ſoon as he had recruited a ſufficient number to make up for the loſs of men ſuſtained at Rocky Mount, he returned towards the Britiſh cantonments, and made an attack upon the poſt at Hanging Rock. This poſt was occupied by the infantry of the legion, part of Brown's corps of provincials, and colonel Bryan's North Carolina refugees; the whole being under the command of major Carden of the prince of Wales's American regiment. Sumpter directed his attack againſt that quarter of the poſt which was occupied by colonel Bryan and his refugees, and was fortunate enough to ſurpriſe them: This corps was but ill ſupplied with ammunition, and had no bayonets. It is difficult even for the beſt diſciplined men to withſtand the effects of a ſurpriſe; but, for undiſciplined men it is impoſſible. The refugees fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and ſpread confuſion through every quarter of the poſt. Sumpter, profiting by the confuſion, advanced with rapidity, and for a time ſeemed to carry every thing before him. At length the legion infantry, and the detachment from Brown's corps, by making three deſperate charges with the bayonet, checked his progreſs. Still, however, he perſevered, and the fate of the attack remained doubtful, when the appearance of a reinforcement changed entirely the fortune of the day. This reinforcement conſiſted only of forty mounted infantry of the legion who were returning from Rocky Mount: But the captains Stewart and Macdonald, who commanded it, by ordering the men to extend their files, gave it the appearance of a formidable detachment. The bugle horns were directed to ſound a charge: And the Americans, already kept at bay, were now fearful of being overpowered, and haſtily retreated, leaving behind them about one hundred of their killed and wounded.

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The loſs of the Britiſh troops in repelling this attack, does not appear to have been exactly aſcertained, but it is admitted to have been conſiderable; and it fell principally upon the legion, and the detachment from Brown's regiment, the refugees having fled ſo early that few of them were either killed or wounded. Major Carden expoſed himſelf to cenſure and diſgrace, by reſigning the command to captain Rouſslet of the legion in the heat of action.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Earl Cornwallis ſets out from Charleſtown to Camden—Action between the Americans under General Gates, and the Britiſh under Earl Cornwallis, near Camden—The American Force under Colonel Sumpter ſurpriſed by Colonel Tarleton—Perfidy of the Americans—Reſtrained by Examples of Severity—Lord Cornwallis marches into North Carolina—Defeat and Fall of Major Ferguſon.

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IN the mean time the different corps of continental troops and militia, commanded by the baron de Kalbe, Caſwell, Rutherford, and Porterfield, having formed a junction, entered the province of South Carolina. General Gates joined them on the twenty-ſeventh of July; and the whole, under his command, advanced by the main road towards Camden. In order to ſtop their progreſs, lord Rawdon moved forward, with the force under his command at Camden, and took a ſtrong poſition about fourteen miles in front of it, upon the weſt branch of Lynche's Creek. General Gates advanced on the oppoſite ſide; and the two armies continued for ſeveral days oppoſed to each other, with the creek only intervening between their advanced parties. Whilſt the oppoſite armies lay in this ſituation, orders were ſent to lieutenant-colonel Cruger to forward with all haſte to Camden the four companies of light-infantry ſtationed at Ninety-ſix; and intelligence being received of a movement made by the Americans towards their right, orders were ſent to the Britiſh officer commanding at Rugeley's Mills, to evacuate his poſt, which was expoſed on account of its advanced ſituation, and, after ſending part of his detachment to join the army, to retire with the reſt to Camden. By the evacuation of the poſt at Rugeley's Mills the road leading from Waxhaws to Camden was left unguarded; and lord Rawdon, fearing that general Gates might attempt to paſs him by this road, and get into his rear, found it neceſſary to fall back from Lynche's Creek, nearer to Camden, and took a new poſition at Logtown. By this time almoſt all the inhabitants between Black River and Pedee had openly revolted and oined the Americans; and, in other quarters, they ſeemed diſpoſed to follow the example, whenever it could be done with ſecurity. Sumpter, with his force increaſed by a detachment of continental ſoldiers, was ſent acroſs the Wateree to favour the revolt of the inhabitants on the ſouth-weſt ſide of that river, and to intercept the ſupplies and reinforcements on the road to Camden; and general Gates, in order to preſerve a communication with Sumpter, moved to his right up the north ſide of Lynche's Creek, and took poſt at Rugeley's Mills, intending to advance from thence, by the Waxhaw road, to Camden. Information of theſe movements on the part of the enemy being regularly tranſmitted by lord Rawdon to Charleſtown, earl Cornwallis thought it neceſſary to poſtpone the completion of the civil arrangements in which he had for ſome time paſt been engaged, and to proceed to Camden, where the threatening aſpect of affairs required all his immediate attention. He ſet out from Charleſtown in the evening of the tenth, and arrived at Camden in the evening of the thirteenth, of Auguſt. The following day he ſpent in examining the condition of his own force, and in obtaining information of that of the enemy: Nearly eight hundred Britiſh troops were ſick at Camden. The number of thoſe who were really effective, amounted to ſomething more than two thouſand, including officers, of whom about fifteen hundred were regulars,

The earl Cornwallis ſets out from Charleſtown to Camden. Auguſt.

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lars, or belonged to eſtabliſhed provincial corps, and the reſt, militia and refugees from North Carolina. The force under general Gates was repreſented to amount to ſix thouſand men, excluſive of Sumpter's corps, which was eſtimated at one thouſand: The American accounts, ſince publiſhed, ſay that general Gates's army, even including Sumpter's corps, did not much exceed five thouſand men; but we have ground for believing that general Gates's force was little leſs than ſix thouſand ſtrong. But almoſt the whole country ſeemed upon the eve of a revolt *. The communication between Camden and Charleſtown appeared in danger of being cut off by the enterpriſing movements of Sumpter, whoſe numbers were daily increaſing by the junction of diſaffected inhabitants. The ſafety of the army depended upon preſerving a communication with the ſea-coaſt; and ſomething was neceſſary to be done immediately for extricating it from its perilous ſituation. At this juncture a retreat to Charleſtown might have been effected without much difficulty; but the ſick muſt have been left behind, the magazines of ſtores either aban-

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* The militia of South Carolina were in general faithleſs, and altogether diſſatisfied in the Britiſh ſervice. One great cauſe of complaint with them was, that their horſes were frequently preſſed for the cavalry and quarter-maſter-general's department; and that thoſe who could obtain certificates for them at a fair price, were nevertheleſs great loſers by diſpoſing of thoſe certificates to men who purchaſed them at an enormous diſcount, a ſpeculation which very much injured the public credit in that colony. It is to be obſerved that a diſtinction was made between a RECEIPT and a CERTIFICATE. Where the word Receipt was made uſe of, it was intended that the proprietor ſhould be paid upon his preſenting the receipt at Charleſtown, and many of thoſe receipts were afterwards actually paid by orders on the paymaſter-general. Where the word Certificate was made uſe of, it was intended as an evidence in the hands of the holder, of ſuch and ſuch property being taken, its payment to depend on contingencies. This regulation governed the conduct of the commiſſary until lord Cornwallis moved from Wynneſborough in January 1781; then, when receipts were given, they not only ſpecified the property, but the value of that property, which gave them a negotiable authority. When certificates were given, the property was ſpecified, but no value affixed. Its payment, as before, was to depend on the merit or demerit of the party at the end of the war. Receipts were frequently refuſed; but certificates never, unleſs the perſon whoſe property had been taken was known to be a decided enemy, and his character marked by acts of inhumanity towards the loyaliſts.

abandoned or deſtroyed, and the loſs of the whole country would have neceſſarily followed, except indeed Charleſtown, in which there was already a ſufficient garriſon for its defence. A defeat could not be much more injurious in its conſequences than ſuch a retreat: And where the motives for action ſo ſtrongly preponderated, there was not much room for deliberation in the breaſt of an officer of ſo much enterpriſe as lord Cornwallis. Confiding in the valour and diſcipline of his troops, however inferior in number, he reſolved to move forward and attack the enemy, whoſe preſent ſituation at Rugeley's Mills inclined him to execute his intention without delay. Meaning to attack them early in the morning of the ſixteenth of Auguſt, and to point his attack principally againſt the continental regiments, whoſe poſition, from the information he had received, he knew to be a bad one, earl Cornwallis began his march towards Rugeley's Mills, at ten in the evening of the fifteenth of Auguſt, committing the defence of Camden to major M'Arthur, with ſome provincials, militia, convaleſcents of the army, and a detachment of the ſixty-third regiment, which was expected to arrive during the night. The army marched in the following order: The front diviſion, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Webſter, conſiſted of four companies of light-infantry, and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, preceded by twenty cavalry, and as many mounted infantry of the legion, as an advanced guard. The centre diviſion conſiſted of the volunteers of Ireland, the legion infantry, Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, and colonel Bryan's refugees, under the command of lord Rawdon. And the two battalions of the ſeventy-firſt regiment followed as a reſerve; the dragoons of the legion forming the rear-guard. It is not a little ſingular that the ſame night, nearly about the ſame time, and with a ſimilar intention, general Gates ſhould have left his encampment at Rugeley's Mills, and moved forward towards Camden. Both armies marching on the ſame

1780. Action between the Americans, under general Gates, and the Britiſh, under the earl Cornwallis, near Camden.

ſame road, in oppoſite directions, their advanced guards met and fired upon each other about two in the morning. Some priſoners were made on both ſides; and from theſe the reſpective commanders became acquainted with the movements of the other: Both armies halted and were formed; and the firing ſoon afterwards ceaſed as if by mutual conſent. The ground on which the two armies had accidentally met was as favourable for lord Cornwallis as he could have wiſhed: A ſwamp on each ſide ſecured his flanks, and narrowed the ground in front, ſo as to render the ſuperiority of the enemy in numbers of leſs conſequence: He therefore waited with impatience for the approach of day; and as ſoon as it appeared made his laſt diſpoſition for the attack. The front line was made up of the two diviſions of the army already mentioned under lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Webſter, Webſter's diviſion being to the right, and lord Rawdon's to the left. Theſe diviſions were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that the thirty-third regiment, on the left of Webſter's, communicating with the volunteers of Ireland, on the right of lord Rawdon's, formed the centre of the line; and to the front line were attached two ſix-pounders, and two three-pounders, under the direction of lieutenant Macleod of the royal artillery. The ſeventy-firſt regiment, with two ſix-pounders, formed a ſecond line, or reſerve, one battalion being poſted behind each wing; and in the rear of the whole, the cavalry were ready either to charge or purſue, as circumſtances might require.

The American army was alſo formed in two lines, general Giſt's brigade of continental troops being on the right, the North Carolina militia in the centre, and the Virginia militia, which had joined the army only the day before, with the light-infantry, and Porterfield's corps, being on the left. The firſt Maryland brigade formed a ſecond line or corps de reſerve: And the artillery was divided between the two brigades.

The oppoſite armies being thus ranged in order of battle, and ſome movement being obſerved on the left of the provincial line, as if a change of diſpoſition had been intended, lord Cornwallis deemed this the critical moment for beginning the action, and gave orders to lieutenant-colonel Webſter to advance and charge the enemy. The order was immediately executed with ſuch alacrity, and the charge made with ſo much promptitude and ſucceſs, that the Virginia militia, quickly giving way, threw down their arms and fled, and were ſoon afterwards followed by the greateſt part of the militia of North Carolina. The American reſerve was now brought into action; and general Gates, in conjunction with general Caſwell, retiring with the militia, endeavoured to rally them at different advantageous paſſes in the rear of the field of action, but in vain: They ran at firſt like a torrent, and afterwards ſpread through the woods in every direction. Lord Rawdon began the action on the left with no leſs vigour and ſpirit than Webſter had done on the right; but here, and in the centre, againſt part of Webſter's diviſion, the conteſt was more obſtinately maintained by the Americans, whoſe artillery did conſiderable execution. Their left flank was, however, expoſed by the flight of the militia; and the light-infantry and twenty-third regiment, who had been oppoſed to the fugitives, inſtead of purſuing them, wheeled to the left and came upon the flank of the continentals, who, after a brave reſiſtance for near three quarters of an hour, were thrown into total confuſion, and forced to give way in all quarters. Their rout was completed by the cavalry, who continued the purſuit to Hanging Rock, twenty-two miles from the field of action. Between eight and nine hundred of the enemy were killed in the action, and in the purſuit, and about one thouſand made priſoners, many of whom were wounded. Of this number, were major-general baron de Kalbe, and brigadier-general Rutherford. The former of theſe officers, at the head of

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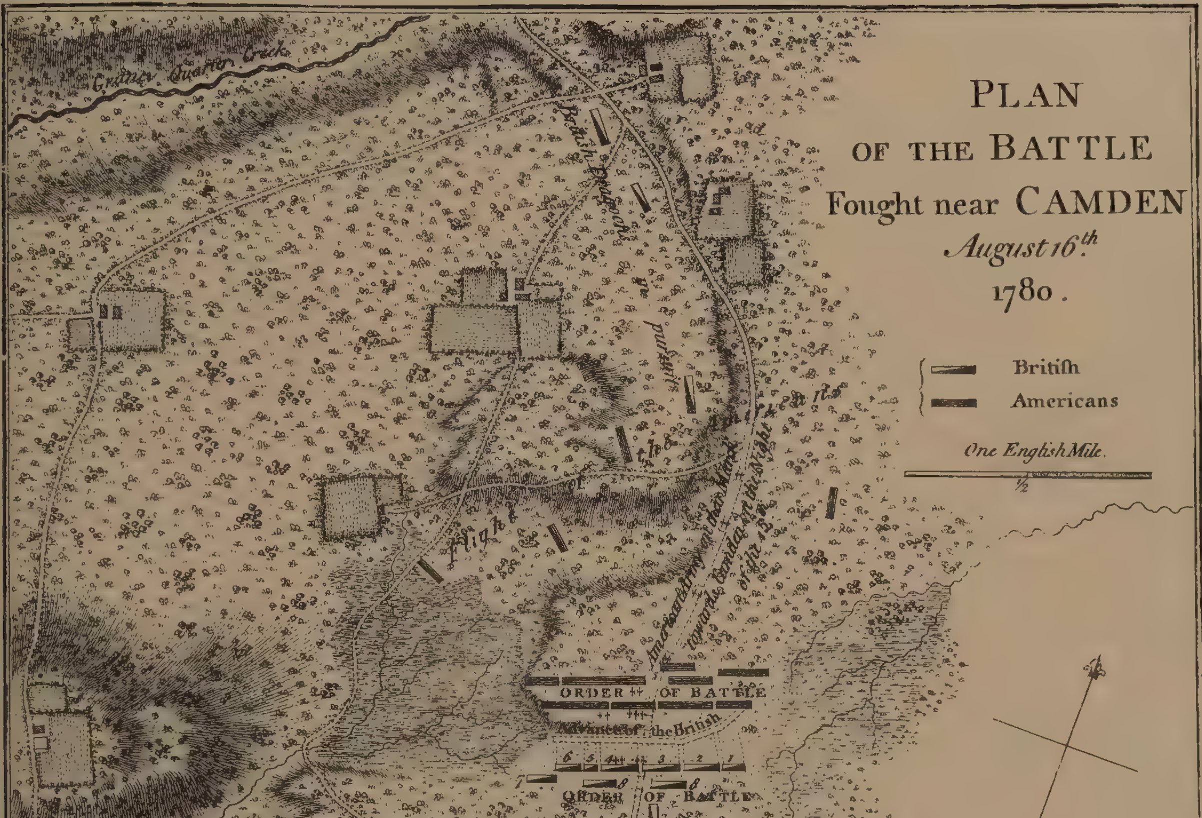
of a continental regiment of infantry, made a vigorous charge on the left wing of the Britiſh army, and when wounded and taken priſoner would ſcarcely believe that the provincial army had been defeated. He died of his wounds a few days after the action, much regretted by the Americans. One hundred and fifty waggons, a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, and all the baggage and camp equipage of the provincial army, a number of colours, and ſeven pieces of cannon, were taken. General Gates, who retired with the militia to endeavour to rally them, finding all his efforts vain, gave up every thing as loſt, and fled firſt to Charlotte, ninety miles from the place of action; and from thence to Hillſborough, in North Carolina, one hundred and eighty miles from Camden. General Giſt alone, of all the American commanders, was able to keep together about one hundred men, who flying acroſs a ſwamp on their right, through which they could not be purſued by the Britiſh dragoons, made good their retreat in a body. The loſs of the Britiſh troops in this battle amounted to three hundred and twenty-five, of whom ſixty-nine were killed, two hundred and forty-five wounded, and eleven miſſing. The weight of the action fell upon the thirty-third regiment in the left of Webſter's diviſion, and the volunteers of Ireland in the right of lord Rawdon's; and of courſe, by them the greateſt loſs was ſuſtained, which amounted to two thirds of the whole. The road for ſome miles was ſtrewed with the wounded and killed, who had been overtaken by the legion in their purſuit. The number of dead horſes, broken waggons, and baggage, ſcattered on the road, formed a perfect ſcene of horror and confuſion: Arms, knapſacks, and accoutrements found were innumerable; ſuch was the terror and diſmay of the Americans. The number of killed, wounded, and taken, exceeded the number of Britiſh regular troops in the action by at leaſt three hundred. Lord Cornwallis's judgment in planning, his promptitude in executing, and his forti-



PLAN
OF THE BATTLE
Fought near CAMDEN
August 16th.
1780.

British
Americans
One English Mile.
½
Grannies Quarter Creek
British Dragoons
pursuit
Flight of the Americans
American Army on their March towards Camden on the Night of the 15th.
ORDER OF BATTLE
Advance of the British
6
5
4
3
2
1
7
8
8
ORDER OF BATTLE
9
Situation of the British Troops when they met the American Column
Saunders Creek
WATEREE RIVER
Road
Road from Camden
March of the British Troops

REFERENCES.

1. *Three Companies, Light Infantry.*
2. *23d. Regiment.*
3. *33d. Ditto.*
4. *Volunteers of Ireland.*
5. *Infantry of the British Legion.*
6. *Hamilton's Corps.*
7. *Bryan's Corps.*
8. *8. Two Battalions 71st. Regiment.*
9. *Dragoons British Legion.*

Engraved for Stedman's Hiſtory of the American War. Jan. 20th. 1794.

tude and coolneſs during the time of action, juſtly attracted univerſal applauſe and admiration. The lord Rawdon, who was only twenty-five years of age, bore a very conſpicuous part in this day's action. Colonel Webſter's conduct was conſiſtent with his general character: Cool, determined, vigilant, and active in action, he added to a reputation eſtabliſhed by long ſervice, the univerſal eſteem and reſpect of the whole army, as an officer of great experience and obſervation as well as bravery and rigid diſcipline. In a word, every Britiſh officer and ſoldier evinced in this day's action the moſt perfect intrepidity and valour. The American wounded were treated with the utmoſt humanity.

General Gates's conduct has been much cenſured. We are told no place was appointed for rendezvous in caſe of a defeat: His baggage ſhould have been much farther in the rear: By delay Gates muſt have added to his ſtrength every hour, but he was confident of ſucceſs.

General Gates's army being thus completely ruined and diſperſed, the only provincial force in South Carolina which remained entire was that under Sumpter on the other ſide of the Wateree. Had he been permitted to retire into North Carolina unmoleſted, his force, ſmall as it was, would have been ſufficient to occupy a convenient ſtation for collecting the ſcattered remains of the American army: It was therefore of importance to ſtrike at his corps, and endeavour to cut it off. An object of ſo much conſequence did not eſcape the attention of the commander in chief; and in the evening of the day of the engagement orders were ſent to lieutenant-colonel Turnbull, who, with the New York volunteers, upon evacuating the poſt at Rocky Mount, had joined major Ferguſon's corps on Little River, to endeavour to intercept Sumpter in his retreat. The light-infantry and the legion, who were deſtined to proceed on the ſame ſervice, being exhauſted with the fatigues of the day, were ſuffered to repoſe themſelves during the night, but received orders to

be

1780.

The American force under colonel Sumpter ſurpriſed by colonel Tarleton.

be in readineſs to march early the next morning, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. On the following morning this active and enterpriſing officer, in purſuance of his orders, ſet out with his detachment, amounting to three hundred and fifty men, and receiving intelligence, during his march, of the retreat of Sumpter along the weſtern banks of the Wateree, purſued ſo cloſely, that, after paſſing the river at Rocky Mount Ford, he overtook him at two in the afternoon of the eighteenth of Auguſt, near the Catawba Ford, when he was within a few hours march of reaching a friendly ſettlement. Sumpter, upon hearing of general Gates's defeat at Camden, immediately began his retreat, and moved with ſo much diſpatch, that, thinking himſelf already out of all danger, he had encamped at this early hour to give his men ſome repoſe during the heat of the day. The ſurpriſe was ſo complete, that the Britiſh ſoldiers, both cavalry and infantry, entered the American camp, and cut off the provincials from their arms and artillery before they had time to aſſemble. Some oppoſition was however made from behind the waggons in front of the militia, but the univerſal conſternation which prevailed rendered it ineffectual. One hundred and fifty of the provincials were either killed or wounded, and upwards of three hundred made priſoners. Sumpter's force conſiſted of one hundred continental ſoldiers, ſeven hundred militia, and two pieces of cannon: And he had in his train about two hundred and fifty priſoners, part of them Britiſh ſoldiers, and the reſt loyal militia, and a number of waggons laden with rum and other ſtores for the Britiſh, which he had taken in the neighbourhood of Camden, on the oppoſite ſide of the river. The priſoners were all releaſed, and the waggons retaken: And the whole of the provincial ſtores, ammunition, and baggage, with their artillery, and one thouſand ſtand of arms, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Sumpter, by riding off without waiting to put on his coat, which he had laid aſide on account of the heat of the weather, made his eſcape; but the reſt of his detachment were all either killed, taken, or diſperſed. The rapidity of Tarleton's march had been ſo great, that when he arrived at Fiſhing Creek, more than one half of his detachment, overpowered with fatigue, could proceed no farther. With only one hundred dragoons, and ſixty of the light-infantry, he continued the purſuit; and with this ſmall number the victory was atchieved. The loſs of the Britiſh detachment was inconſiderable: It amounted to only nine killed, and ſix wounded; but unfortunately, amongſt the former, was captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the light-infantry, a young officer of the moſt promiſing abilities, whoſe death was greatly lamented.

By the victory gained over general Gates at Camden, and the rout and total diſperſion of his army, followed ſo ſoon after by the defeat and ruin of the corps under Sumpter, the provincial force to the ſouthward ſeemed for a time entirely annihilated; and nothing prevented earl Cornwallis from proceeding immediately on his long-projected expedition into North Carolina, but the want of ſome ſupplies for the army, which were on their way from Charleſtown. In the mean time emiſſaries were again ſent into North Carolina, with inſtructions to the friends of government to take arms, and ſeize the moſt violent of their perſecutors, with all the magazines and ſtores for the uſe of the American government, under an aſſurance that the Britiſh army would march without loſs of time to their ſupport.

Perfidy of the Americans

The delay occaſioned by waiting for the ſtores, gave time to the commander in chief again to employ his thoughts upon the internal affairs of the province, and to form ſome new regulations which recent events and circumſtances had rendered more immediately neceſſary. It was now apparent, by the revolts that had taken place upon the approach of general Gates, and by the number of militia who had joined him after exchanging their paroles for protections, and ſwearing allegiance to the Britiſh government, that thoſe perſons were not to be depended upon,* that the lenity which had been ſhewn to them had been abuſed, and that it was become neceſſary to reſtrain their perfidy by examples of ſeverity, and the terrors of puniſhment. With this view, the eſtates of all thoſe who had left the province to join the enemies of Great Britain, or who were employed in the ſervice, or held commiſſions under the authority of congreſs, and alſo of all thoſe who continued to oppoſe the re-eſtabliſhment of his majeſty's government within the province, were ordered to be ſequeſtered: A commiſſioner was appointed to ſeize upon them; and after a ſufficient allowance was made for the ſupport of the wives and families of ſuch delinquents, the reſidue of the annual produce of their eſtates was to be accounted for to the paymaſter-general of the forces, and to be applied to the public ſervice. Inſtant death was again denounced againſt thoſe who, having taken protections from the Britiſh government, ſhould afterwards join the enemy; and, to impreſs them with an idea that this puniſhment would be hereafter rigorouſly inflicted, ſome few of the moſt hardened of the militia, who had been taken in general Gates's army with arms in their hands, and protections in their pockets, were actually executed. But perfidy, it ſeems, was not confined to the lower ranks of men: By letters found upon ſome of the officers of general Gates's army, it was diſcovered that even perſons of ſuperior rank, priſoners upon parole in Charleſtown, had held an improper correſpondence with their friends in the country. In conſequence of this diſcovery, thoſe perſons, and ſome others, againſt whom there were ſtrong circumſtances of ſuſpicion, were at firſt put on board the priſon-ſhips, and afterwards ſent to St. Auguſtine, in Eaſt Florida, where paroles were again allowed to them, but under ſuch reſtrictions as their recent conduct rendered neceſſary.

reſtrained by examples of ſeverity.

1780.

Lord Cornwallis marches into North Carolina.

As ſoon as the neceſſary ſupplies arrived, lord Cornwallis on the eighth of September began his march from Camden, proceeding through the hoſtile ſettlement of Waxhaws to Charlotte-town, in the back parts of North Carolina. This march was no doubt projected with a view of bearing down all oppoſition: His lordſhip was to paſs through the moſt hoſtile parts of either province with the main army, whilſt major Ferguſon, with his corps of loyal militia, was to advance ſtill nearer to the frontiers; and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and the light and legion infantry, to purſue an intermediate courſe, and move up the weſtern banks of the Wateree. On the right of his lordſhip's march, but at a conſiderable diſtance, was the friendly ſettlement of highlanders, at Croſs Creek, and on his left another friendly ſettlement in Tryon County. If he was able to reduce to obedience the inveterate inhabitants of the tract of country through which the main army marched, a communication might be opened between the friendly ſettlements on the right and left, a powerful aſſiſtance derived from their co-operation, and the ſpeedy reduction of the whole province reaſonably expected. The previous meaſures appeared well adapted to the end: And the reduction of the province of North Carolina was undoubtedly at this time confidently looked for. But to confound human wiſdom, and ſet at nought the arrogance and preſumption of man, unexpected incidents daily ariſe in the affairs of human life, which, conducted by an inviſible hand, derange the beſt-concerted ſchemes, as will be exemplified in the event of the preſent expedition.

The march of the main army was performed without any material occurrence, except that a number of the convaleſcents relapſed into their former ſtate of illneſs, and were left behind at Blair's Mills, under the care of major M'Arthur, who remained there, with the ſeventy-firſt regiment, for their protection, for the ſecurity of the mills, and for preſerving the communication with Camden.

Tarleton,

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Tarleton, with the cavalry and light-infantry, received orders to paſs the Catawba at Blair's Ford: And Charlotte was taken poſſeſſion of after a ſlight reſiſtance from the militia towards the end of September. At this period, major Hanger commanded the legion, colonel Tarleton being ill. In the centre of Charlotte, interſecting the two principal ſtreets, ſtood a large brick building, the upper part being the court-houſe, and the under part the market-houſe. Behind the ſhambles a few Americans on horſeback had placed themſelves. The legion was ordered to drive them off; but, upon receiving a fire from behind the ſtalls, this corps fell back. Lord Cornwallis rode up in perſon, and made uſe of theſe words:—“ Legion, remember you have every thing to loſe, but nothing to “ gain;” alluding, as was ſuppoſed, to the former reputation of this corps. Webſter's brigade moved on and drove the Americans from behind the court-houſe; the legion then purſued them; but the whole of the Britiſh army was actually kept at bay, for ſome minutes, by a few mounted Americans, not exceeding twenty in number.

The vicinity of Charlotte abounded with mills*; and the army, during its ſtay, was ſufficiently ſupplied with proviſions, notwithſtanding the hoſtile diſpoſition of the inhabitants. So inveterate was their rancour, that the meſſengers, with expreſſes for the commander in chief, were frequently murdered; and the inhabitants, inſtead of remaining quietly at home to receive payment for the produce of their plantations, made it a practice to way-lay the Britiſh foraging parties, fire their rifles from concealed places, and then fly into the woods †. Nevertheleſs Charlotte, from its inter-

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* In colonel Polk's mill was found twenty-eight thouſand weight of flour, and a quantity of wheat.

† There were ſeveral large, well-cultivated farms in the neighbourhood of Charlotte: An abundance of cattle; few ſheep; the cattle being moſtly milch-cows, or cows with

1780.

Defeat and fall of major Ferguſon.

intermediate poſition between Camden and Saliſbury, was a convenient ſituation to be occupied whenever the army ſhould advance farther into North Carolina; and here, accordingly, lord Cornwallis intended to eſtabliſh a poſt. But whilſt he was taking meaſures for this purpoſe, the unwelcome news arrived of the defeat of major Ferguſon; the fall of that officer, and the deſtruction, captivity, or diſperſion of his whole corps. The total loſs of ſo conſider-

with calf, which at that ſeaſon of the year was the beſt beef; for the cattle in North and South Carolina run wild in the woods, and at this ſeaſon are in general very poor. As an inſtance, when the army was at Charlotte, we killed upon an average 100 head per day. The amount of rations iſſued, including the army departments, militia, negroes, &c. was 4100 per day. The leanneſs of the cattle will account for the number killed each day. This was not confined to Charlotte, for they were poor at this ſeaſon throughout the Carolinas; very few of the oxen were fit to kill. In one day no leſs than 37 cows in calf were ſlaughtered: Neceſſity only juſtified this meaſure. At this period the royal army was ſupported by lord Rawdon's moving with one half of the army one day, and colonel Webſter, with the other half, the next day, as a covering party, to protect the foraging parties and cattle-drivers. This meaſure was rendered neceſſary from the hoſtile diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Wheat and rye were collected in the ſtraw, Indian corn in the huſk, and brought in waggons to Charlotte, where (in the court-houſe) it was threſhed out by the militia and negroes, and then ſent to the mill. This was attended with much trouble and fatigue to the army; nevertheleſs meal was not wanting; cattle there were in abundance. When a cow calves in the Carolinas, the owner marks the calf, and turns it into the woods, where it remains for three or four, and even ſeven, years, without ever being brought out. Individual farmers have marked from twelve to fifteen hundred calves in one year. It would never anſwer to fodder ſuch a number of cattle. The climate being very much to the ſouthward, admits of their running in the woods all the winter, where a ſpecies of coarſe wild graſs grows moſt luxuriantly all the year. Penſylvania and Maryland do not raiſe black cattle ſufficient for their own conſumption. The drovers from Penſylvania go to the Carolinas, purchaſe theſe lean cattle at a very low price, and bring them to Penſylvania, where they are fatted in the rich meadows on the banks of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers for market. This will explain, in ſome degree, why the Carolinas ſuffered ſo much during the war; for the planters property conſiſted chiefly in cattle and negroes, there not being white inhabitants ſufficient to cultivate the land; the planters aſſerting, that, without negroes, indigo and rice could not be cultivated, the whites not being able to bear the heat of the climate. The negroes in general followed the Britiſh army.

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able a detachment, from the operations of which ſo much was expected, put a ſtop, for the preſent, to the farther progreſs of the commander in chief, and obliged him to fall back into South Carolina, for the protection of its weſtern borders againſt the incurſions of a horde of mountaineers, whoſe appearance was as unexpected as their ſucceſs was fatal to the proſecution of the intended expedition.

CHAP. XXXV.

The Americans under Colonel Clarke make an Attack on Auguſta—Retreat of Clarke—The Detachment under Major Ferguſon attacked and overpowered by American Mountaineers—Lord Cornwallis falls back to South Carolina—Colonel Tarleton checks the Inroads of the American Partizan Marion—Junction of the American Forces under Sumpter, Clarke, and Brannen—Action at Blackſtock's Hill between Sumpter and Tarleton.

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IN order to trace the cauſes of an event ſo important in its conſequences as the defeat of major Ferguſon, it will be neceſſary to go a little farther back. A colonel Clarke, an inhabitant of Georgia, who had fled from that province after its reduction by colonel Campbell in 1779, having attached to himſelf ſome followers on the frontiers of North and South Carolina, made his way through theſe provinces, his numbers increaſing as he advanced, until he reached the province of Georgia, where, during the march of lord Cornwallis from Camden to Charlotte, he made an attack upon the Britiſh poſt at Auguſta. Here lieutenant-colonel Brown commanded, with a garriſon of one hundred and fifty provincials; and as the town did not afford an eligible poſition for defence, he marched from thence with his garriſon, and ſome friendly Indians whom he had called to his aſſiſtance, towards Garden Hill, an eminence on the banks of the Savannah. This hill he found was already occupied by the enemy; but, bringing his cannon to bear upon them, and at the ſame

The Americans under colonel Clarke make an attack on Auguſta.

ſame time making a charge with his whole force, the enemy were diſlodged, after a deſperate conflict of twenty minutes, at the end of which, lieutenant-colonel Brown gained poſſeſſion of the hill, although with the loſs of his cannon, the troops which he had under him not being ſufficient in number to force the one and ſecure the other. This poſt, ſo gallantly won, he bravely maintained, under many diſadvantages, until lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who had intelligence of Clarke's motions, arrived from Ninety-ſix, and brought a detachment to his aſſiſtance. Clarke, receiving information of Cruger's march, endeavoured by menaces of cruelty to intimidate Brown into a ſurrender of the poſt; but finding his menaces ineffectual, he haſtily decamped, upon the nearer approach of the reinforcement, and retreated with his followers. Theſe had originally amounted to about ſeven hundred men; but in the different conflicts with the garriſon, and in the blockade of Garden Hill, Clarke had loſt about one ſixth part of his number. On the part of the Britiſh troops, captain Johnſon was killed, and lieutenant-colonel Brown wounded: The loſs in other reſpects was inconſiderale, and fell principally upon the Indians. The retreat of Clarke and his followers was ſo precipitate, that, although a purſuit was ordered, very few priſoners were made, but the Britiſh cannon were retaken. Still, however, it was hoped that Clarke's retreat might be cut off, as major Ferguſon, with his corps, traverſed the country between him and North Carolina; and intelligence was accordingly ſent to that officer, acquainting him with the route which he had taken. Major Ferguſon, whoſe zeal in the ſervice of his king and country was equal to his other great qualities as an officer, did not fail to take immediate meaſures for accompliſhing an object ſo deſirable, and advanced nearer to the mountains than the other purpoſes of his expedition probably required: But, unfortunately for his ſucceſs, another enemy appeared at this juncture, whoſe ſuperiority in

Retreat of Clarke.

numbers it was hazardous to encounter, and whoſe rapidity of movement rendered a retreat difficult in his preſent advanced ſituation. This enemy was compoſed of men who had aſſembled from different views and with different objects, and the union of their force againſt Ferguſon was in a great meaſure accidental. The firſt diviſion of theſe men conſiſted of the wild and fierce inhabitants of Kentucky, and other ſettlements weſtward of the Alleganey Mountains, who, aſſembiing under the colonels Campbell and Boone, paſſed the mountains, with an intention of ſeizing upon a quantity of preſents which they underſtood were but ſlightly guarded at Auguſta, and which were about that time to have been diſtributed amongſt the Creek and Cherokee Indians. After paſſing the mountains they heard of Clarke's repulſe at Auguſta, and from his failure conceiving their own force to be inſufficient for attempting the poſt, they turned their thoughts towards Ferguſon, whoſe movements on the frontiers, indicating an approach to their country, gave them conſiderable alarm. In this new deſign they were joined by a colonel Williams, an American partizan of the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, with a conſiderable number of followers. The other diviſion of theſe men, conſiſting of the inhabitants about Holſton River, Powel's Valley, Berkeley, Botetourt, and Fincaſtle, on the frontiers of Virginia, had aſſembled under the colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Brandon, and Lacy, with a view of oppoſing the advance of the Britiſh army towards their ſettlements: But after they had proceeded ſome diſtance on their march, thinking themſelves unable to attempt any direct oppoſition to the army under lord Cornwallis, they too bent their force againſt the devoted Ferguſon, who they underſtood had taken poſt with his corps at Gilbert-town, in the vicinity of the mountains: Thither, therefore, they directed their march. Theſe men were all well mounted on horſeback and armed with rifles: Each carried his own proviſions in a wallet, ſo that no incumbrance of waggons, nor delays of public departments, impeded their movements. Ferguſon's vigilance nevertheleſs prevented a ſurpriſe: Whilſt they were yet at ſome diſtance he received intelligence of their approach, by means of his emiſſaries, and immediately began a retreat towards the Britiſh army, ſending forward meſſengers to acquaint lord Cornwallis with his danger; but theſe unfortunately were intercepted. When the different diviſions of mountaineers reached Gilbert-town, which was nearly about the ſame time, they amounted to upwards of three thouſand men. From theſe, fifteen hundred of the beſt were ſelected, who, mounted on fleet horſes, were ſent in purſuit of Ferguſon, and overtook him at King's Mountain on the ninth of October. At this place he had halted, upon the near approach of the enemy, and, after occupying the beſt poſition he could find, determined to wait the attack. King's Mountain, from its height, was undoubtedly an eligible ſituation for receiving an attack; but in another reſpect it was advantageous to the aſſailants: Being covered with wood, it afforded them an opportunity of fighting in their own way, by placing themſelves behind trees. When they approached the mountain they divided into different bodies, and under their reſpective leaders made the attack from different quarters. Colonel Cleveland's detachment firſt engaged, but was quickly obliged to retire from the approaching bayonet. Scarcely had this detachment given way, when another under colonel Shelby, from an unexpected quarter, poured in a well-directed fire; the bayonet, however, was again ſucceſsful, and obliged this detachment alſo to fall back. By this time the party under colonel Campbell had aſcended the mountain, and renewed the attack from a different quarter. Major Ferguſon, whoſe conduct was equal to his courage, quickly preſented a new front, and was again ſucceſsful. But as often as one of the American parties was driven back, another returned to its former ſtation, and, ſheltered behind the

The detachment under major Ferguſon attacked and overpowered by American mountaineers.

the trees, poured in an irregular but deſtructive fire. In this manner the engagement was maintained for near an hour, the mountaineers flying whenever they were in danger of being charged with the bayonet, and returning as ſoon as the Britiſh detachment had faced about to repel another of their parties. Already an hundred and fifty of major Ferguſon's corps were ſlain, and a greater number wounded: Still, however, the unconquerable ſpirit of that gallant officer refuſed to ſurrender: He perſevered, and repulſed a ſucceſſion of attacks from every quarter, until he received a mortal wound. By the fall of major Ferguſon his men were undoubtedly diſheartened: Animated by his brave example, they had hitherto perſevered under all their diſadvantages: In the reſources of his fruitful genius they deſervedly placed the utmoſt confidence; and with him periſhed all their hopes of ſucceſs. Under ſuch circumſtances, the ſecond in command, judging all farther reſiſtance to be vain, offered to ſurrender, and ſued for quarter. The priſoners, including the wounded, amounted to eight hundred and ten: Of theſe, about one hundred only were Britiſh regulars. The loſs of the Americans, in the number of killed, was trifling, but they had a conſiderable number wounded: And brilliant as their ſucceſs was, they ſhamefully ſtained the laurels they had won by cruelties exerciſed upon the priſoners, ten of whom were hanged immediately after the action.

Much had been expected from the exertions of major Ferguſon in collecting a force upon the frontiers: And by his unfortunate fall, and the ſlaughter, captivity, or diſperſion of his whole corps, the plan of the expedition into North Carolina was entirely deranged. At Polk's Mill, near Charlotte, a ſmall detachment of the twenty-third regiment was poſted, commanded by lieutenant Guyon, a very young man. The Americans made an attack upon the mill, with a very ſuperior force, but were repulſed. Lieutenant Guyon's conduct was highly applauded. The weſtern frontiers of South Carolina were now expoſed to the incurſions of the mountaineers; and it became neceſſary for lord Cornwallis to fall back for their protection, and to wait for a reinforcement before he could proceed farther upon his expedition. Fortunately the friends of government in North Carolina, rendered cautious by their misfortunes in former inſurrections, had not been ſo ready to take arms as was expected: No general riſing had taken place; ſo that the retreat of the Britiſh army did not much increaſe, although it prolonged their ſufferings.

Lord Cornwallis falls back to South Carolina.

On the fourteenth of October, which was as ſoon after lord Cornwallis received certain intelligence of the loſs of Ferguſon's detachment as the army could be put in motion, he began his march back to South Carolina. Nearly about this time lord Cornwallis fell ſick, and continued ill for ſome time; the command devolved on lord Rawdon. In this retreat the king's troops ſuffered much, encountering the greateſt difficulties; the ſoldiers had no tents; it rained for ſeveral days without intermiſſion; the roads were over their ſhoes in water and mud. At night, when the army took up its ground, it encamped in the woods, in a moſt unhealthy climate; for many days without rum. Sometimes the army had beef, and no bread; at other times bread and no beef. For five days it was ſupported upon Indian corn, which was collected as it ſtood in the field, five ears of which were the allowance for two ſoldiers for twenty-four hours. They were to cook it as they could, which was generally done by parching it before the fire. In riding through the encampment of the militia, the Author diſcovered them grating their corn, which was done by two men of a meſs breaking up their tin canteens, and with a bayonet punching holes through the tin; this made a kind of raſp, on which they grated their corn: The idea was communicated to the adjutant-general, and it was afterwards adopted throughout the army. The water that the army drank was frequently as thick as puddle. Few armies ever encountered greater difficulties and hardſhips; the ſoldiers bore them with great patience, and without a murmur: Their attachment to their commander ſupported them in the day of adverſity; knowing, as they did, that their officers', and even lords Cornwallis and Rawdon's fare was not better than their own. Yet, with all their reſolution and patience, they could not have proceeded but for the perſonal exertions of the militia, who, with a zeal that did them infinite honour, rendered the moſt important ſervices. The continual rains had ſwelled the rivers and creeks prodigiouſly, and rendered the roads almoſt impaſſable. The waggon and artillery horſes were quite exhauſted with fatigue by the time the army had reached Sugar Creek. This creek was very rapid, it banks nearly perpendicular, and the ſoil, being clay, as ſlippery as ice. The horſes were taken out of ſome of the waggons, and the militia, harneſſed in their ſtead, drew the waggons through the creek. We are ſorry to ſay, that, in return for theſe exertions, the militia were maltreated, by abuſive language, and even beaten by ſome officers in the quarter-maſter-general's department: In conſequence of this ill uſage, ſeveral of them left the army next morning, for ever, chuſing to run the riſque of meeting the reſentment of their enemies rather than ſubmit to the deriſion and abuſe of thoſe to whom they looked up as friends *.

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* The militia, moſt of them being mounted on horſeback, were not in ſo weak a ſtate as the regulars; but they were not without their ſhare of toil and trouble, added to their exertions already mentioned: For as ſoon as the army had taken up its ground for the night, to endeavour to procure a limited and ſcanty reſt, the duty of the militia began. They were aſſembled by the author, who always attended them in perſon, and went in queſt of proviſions, which were collected daily from the country through which the army marched: Nor were their difficulties on this ſervice trifling; they were obliged to ride through rivers, creeks, woods, and ſwamps, to hunt out the cattle. This ſervice was their conſtant and daily duty; they were frequently oppoſed; ſometimes worſted, and with no inconſiderable loſs. In ſhort, ſo eſſentially

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At length the army reached the Catawba, which was forded by the troops. This river is ſix hundred yards wide, and three and a half feet deep. Two hundred rifle-men placed on the oppoſite bank muſt have deſtroyed many of our men before we could have gained the ſhore. On the twenty-ninth of October the army arrived at Wynneſborough, an intermediate ſtation between Camden and Ninety-ſix: The army, thus encamped, was at hand either to ſuccour Camden or Ninety-ſix; and covered from the enemy's incurſions all the country behind to the ſea-coaſt. Lord Cornwallis, however, did not expect to remain long without ſuch a reinforcement as would enable him to proſecute his further deſigns; as he had under his orders a detachment commanded by general Leſlie, which had been ſent to Virginia by ſir Henry Clinton, as ſoon as he received information of the defeat of Gates at Camden. This detachment was ſent to Virginia with a view of co-operatiug with lord Cornwallis, upon a ſuppoſition that he would proceed upon his expedition into North Carolina immediately after the battle of Camden; and the detachment was of courſe put under his lordſhip's orders. But as that expedition was neceſſarily poſtponed, earl Cornwallis ſent orders to general Leſlie to bring his detachment by water round to Charleſtown, and join him at Wynneſborough.

In the mean time the mountaineers, contented with their ſucceſs againſt Ferguſon, had gone home and diſperſed: But the north-eaſt parts of the province were infeſted by the depredations of an enterpriſing partizan of the name of Marion. This man, previous to the defeat of general Gates, had been active in ſtirring up the inhabitants upon Black River to revolt; but after that event had

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tially neceſſary was this unfortunate deſcription of people, that it was impoſſible to have ſupported his majeſty's army in the field without them. Cattle-driving was of itſelf a perfect buſineſs; it required great art and experience to get the cattle out of the woods. The commiſſary was under the greateſt obligations to thoſe people, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not poſſibly have found proviſions for the army.

thought

thought it prudent for ſome time to retire out of the province. He had now again returned, and, traverſing the country between the rivers Pedce and Santee, without oppoſition, was ſo ſucceſsful in ſtirring up rebellion, that the whole of that diſtrict was upon the eve of a revolt. The number of his followers too had ſo increaſed that he was enabled to ſend parties acroſs the Santee, and threatened to interrupt the communication between Camden and Charleſtown. To repreſs his incurſions, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ſent againſt him with the light-infantry and legion. That officer, after obtaining information of Marion's ſtrength, which he found to be not ſo great as it had been repreſented, endeavoured, by concealing his own, to invite an attack, and had nearly ſucceeded. Marion advanced within two miles of the Britiſh encampment; but being then informed of his danger, immediately retreated amongſt the ſwamps and marſhes, through which it was impoſſible to follow him. This expedition was however ſerviceable in another reſpect, by convincing the inhabitants, that if they ſwerved from their allegiance, there was ſtill a power in the province capable of puniſhing them.

Colonel Tarleton checks the inroads of the American partizan Marion.

November.

Nearly about the ſame time, and whilſt the light-infantry and cavalry were abſent upon this expedition, Sumpter again made his appearance in the north-weſt part of the province. After his defeat on the eighteenth of Auguſt he had retired into a remote part of the province called the New Acquiſition, the inhabitants of which had not yet ſubmitted to the Britiſh arms. Here he was indefatigable in ſtirring them up to take arms; and the reputation he had already acquired, with his peculiar talent for enterpriſe, in a ſhort time procured him a number of followers. With theſe he now advanced towards the Britiſh quarters, intending to form a junction with colonels Clarke and Brannen, and with their united force to attack the Britiſh poſt at Ninety-ſix. Earl Cornwallis receiving intelligence of his approach, laid a plan for ſurpriſing him in his camp at Fiſh Dam, upon Broad River, the execution of which was committed to major Wemyſs, of the ſixty-third regiment. That officer accordingly marched from Wynneſborough in the evening, with the ſixty-third regiment mounted, and about forty of the legion cavalry that had been left behind when Tarleton marched into the eaſtern parts of the province, intending to make his attack at day-break in the morning; but reaching the place of his deſtination ſooner than he expected, and fearful leſt the enemy ſhould diſcover him before it was light, and have time to eſcape, he ventured to make his attack in the night. At the head of his detachment he charged the enemy's piquet; but, unfortunately, from five ſhot only, that were fired before the piquet retired, he received two dangerous wounds; and to this accident Sumpter probably owed his ſafety. The command now devolved upon a young lieutenant, unacquainted with the plan, the ground, or the ſtrength of the enemy, and all was confuſion. Sumpter had time to draw out his troops; and the Britiſh detachment was repulſed, and obliged to retire, leaving behind their commander, and about twenty of their number killed or wounded. Sumpter now croſſed the Broad River, and formed the intended junction with Clarke and Brannen; and lord Cornwallis, alarmed for the ſafety of Ninety-ſix, ſent an expreſs to recall Tarleton with the light troops from the eaſtern parts of the province. He had orders to proceed by the neareſt route againſt Sumpter: The ſixty-third regiment was ſent forward to join him upon his march; and the ſeventy-firſt advanced to take poſt at Brierley's Ferry for ſupporting him. Sumpter moved forward with great confidence, becauſe he knew of the abſence of the Britiſh light troops in the eaſtern parts of the province; and Tarleton, after receiving lord Cornwallis's expreſs, came back with ſo much expedition, that he had nearly got behind Sumpter's corps before

Junction of the American forces under Sumpter, Clarke, and Brannen.

before the latter was aware of his return. In the night preceding the day on which Tarleton expected to effect his purpoſe, by marching up the banks of the Enoree, Sumpter was appriſed of his danger by a deſerter from the ſixty-third regiment, and immediately began his retreat. Tarleton, while on his march the next morning, received information that Sumpter was retreating, and commenced a purſuit with his uſual celerity. At a ford upon the Enoree, he came up with, and cut to pieces part of the rear-guard of Sumpter's detachment, which was waiting for the return of a patrole; the main body having paſſed the river ſome hours before. The rapid river Tyger croſſed the line of march which Sumpter was purſuing at ſome diſtance in his front, and if he was ſuffered to paſs it unmoleſted, it was feared that all farther purſuit would be fruitleſs. Tarleton, impreſſed with this idea, moved on with as much expedition as he could, conſiſtently with another object, which a knowledge of Sumpter's force rendered it neceſſary for him to have ſteadily in view. This was to keep his detachment compact, that the infantry and cavalry might be at hand to ſupport each other. But, at the hour of four in the afternoon of the twentieth of November, finding that, unleſs he altered his diſpoſition, Sumpter would have time to paſs the Tyger before he could come up with him, he took the reſolution of preſſing forward with the cavalry, and eighty mounted men of the ſixty-third regiment, making in the whole, two hundred and fifty men, and left the infantry, who were much fatigued with their previous exertions, to come on at their own pace. After an hour's march, he overtook Sumpter, advantageouſly poſted on an eminence called Blackſtock's Hill, near the banks of the Tyger, and without waiting to be joined by the light infantry, made a precipitate attack with the force which he had then with him. Sumpter's numbers, which were more than double the Britiſh

Action at Blackſtock's Hill between Sumpter and Tarleton.

Britiſh force at this moment oppoſed to him, perhaps would not have availed on equal ground; but the advantages of a ſtrong ſituation gave him a moſt decided ſuperiority, eſpecially over cavalry. "That part of the hill to which the attack was directed was "nearly perpendicular, with a ſmall rivulet, bruſhwood, and a railed "fence in front. The rear of the Americans, and part of their "right flank, were ſecured by the river Tyger, and their left was "covered by a large log barn, into which a conſiderable diviſion of "their force had been thrown, and from which, as the apertures "between the logs ſerved them for loop-holes, they fired with ſecurity. Britiſh valour was conſpicuous in this action; but no "valour could ſurmount the obſtacles and diſadvantages that here "ſtood in its way. The ſixty-third regiment was roughly handled: "The commanding officer †, two others ‡, with one third of their "privates, fell. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, obſerving their ſituation, charged with his cavalry; but unable to diſlodge the enemy, "either from the log barn on his right, or the height on his left, "he was obliged to fall back. Lieutenant Skinner, attached to the "cavalry, with a preſence of mind ever uſeful in ſuch emergencies, "covered the retreat of the ſixty-third; and in this manner did the "whole party continue to retire, till they formed a junction with "their infantry, who were advancing to ſupport them, leaving "Sumpter in quiet poſſeſſion of the field. This officer occupied the "hill for ſeveral hours, but having received a bad wound, and "knowing that the Britiſh would be reinforced before next morning, he thought it hazardous to wait. He accordingly retired, "and taking his wounded men with him, croſſed the rapid river "Tyger. The wounded of the Britiſh detachment were left to the "mercy of the enemy; and it is but doing bare juſtice to ge-

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† Major Money.

‡ Lieutenants Gibſon and Cope.

" neral Sumpter to declare that the ſtricteſt humanity took place " upon the preſent occaſion; they were ſupplied with every comfort " in his power *."

Although Tarleton was repulſed at Blackſtock's Hill, the immediate effects of the action were nearly the ſame as thoſe of a victory. Sumpter being diſabled by his wound from keeping the field, his followers diſperſed, after conveying him to a place of ſafety.

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* The whole of this account of the action at Blackſtock's is taken from Mackenzie's Strictures on Tarleton's Campaigns. The account is there ſaid to have been compiled from the concurrent teſtimony of ſeveral officers preſent in the action; and it has been preferred to Tarleton's own account, becauſe his claim of victory is evidently inconſiſtent with ſome other circumſtances which he admits, particularly this, that he did not gain poſſeſſion of the field of action until the next morning, after it had been quitted by the Americans in the night.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Effects of the Defeat and Fall of Major Ferguſon—General Gates reſigns the Command of the Southern American Army to General Green—Danger ariſing to the Britiſh Garriſon in New York from the extreme Rigour of the Winter—Meaſures taken for the Defence of New York—Unſucceſsful Attempt to eſtabliſh the royal Standard in the Jerſeys.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1780. Effects of the defeat and fall of major Ferguſon.

THE poſtponing the expedition into North Carolina was not the only injurious conſequence that followed from the defeat and fall of major Ferguſon. By that unfortunate event the loyal inhabitants in both the Carolinas were diſcouraged from joining the king's ſtandard; and the expiring embers of the war were lighted up afreſh. The diſaſter which had befallen that brave officer was quickly circulated from one end of the continent to the other; and the friends of independence, cheered by the intelligence, recovered from that ſtate of deſpondence which followed the ſucceſſive defeats of Gates at Camben, and Sumpter near the ford of Catawba. The governments of Virginia and North Carolina continued to raiſe men and make draughts from their militia: And the officers who eſcaped from Camden were indefatigably active in collecting the diſperſed remains of their broken army. By thoſe means ſomething like a force was after a time aſſembled at Hillſborough, where general Gates eſtabliſhed his head-quarters. As this force increaſed, head-quarters were advanced, firſt to Saliſbury, and afterwards to Charlotte; and ſtill more to encourage the reviving ſpirits of the ſouthern troops, general Green, who was ſuppoſed to enjoy the eſteem and confidence of Waſhington more than any other officer of the army, was ſent to command them. He arrived at Charlotte on the ſecond of December, and on the following day general Gates reſigned the command of the army. With theſe tranſactions cloſed the campaign of the year 1780 in the ſouthern colonies, the events of which, for the ſake of perſpicuity, have been given in a connected ſeries.

General Gates reſigns the command of the ſouthern American army to general Green.

We muſt now take a review of the military operations between the two grand armies in the vicinity of New York, and of the other principal events that occurred upon the continent of America from the beginning of the preſent year, and from thence paſs to thoſe that occurred in other quarters of the world, to which the war in its progreſs extended itſelf.

Dangers ariſing to the Britiſh garriſon in New York, from the extreme rigour of the winter.

The winter that preceded this campaign was the ſevereſt ever remembered in North America. The rivers from Virginia northwards were frozen up for the greateſt part of three months: And even the arms of the ſea were in many parts paſſable upon the ice. When ſir Henry Clinton departed upon his expedition againſt Charleſtown, he left a garriſon fully adequate to the ſecurity of New York in ordinary ſeaſons: But by the unexpected rigour of the winter it was deprived of thoſe defenſive advantages which its inſular ſituation at other times afforded, and became expoſed to an attack from general Waſhington. By the middle of January the North River, which conſtituted its greateſt natural defence, was ſo completely covered with thick ice, that the largeſt army, with the heavieſt artillery and baggage, might have paſſed it on the ice with eaſe. In other quarters, towards the country, New York was not leſs acceſſible; whilſt its communication with the ſea was entirely cut off, the

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ſhips of war that remained for its defence, and all the other veſſels in the harbour, being frozen up in the ice.

1780. Meaſures taken for the defence of New York.

In this perilous ſituation, the veteran lieutenant-general Knyphauſen, who commanded, took ſuch precautionary meaſures as prudence dictated. The ſeamen were landed from the ſhips and tranſports, and formed into companies: The inhabitants were embodied and officered, and took their routine of duty with the regular garriſon. In the mean time the danger to be apprehended from an attack was not the only evil to which the garriſon and inhabitants were ſubjected: They were deprived of thoſe ſupplies which a communication by water would have afforded, and in particular ſuffered ſeverely for want of fuel. Such was their diſtreſs for want of this article, that it became neceſſary to break up ſome old tranſports, and to pull down ſome uninhabited wooden houſes, to ſupply their moſt preſſing neceſſities. But the ſame zeal animated them, and the ſame ardour ran through the whole ſervice, as when, in a former year, the count d'Eſtaing anchored off Sandy Hook, and threatened to enter the harbour.

Had general Waſhington been in ſufficient force to have hazarded an attack, it is difficult to ſay what might ultimately have been the conſequence: It was however ſufficiently apparent, that he would have met with the moſt determined reſiſtance. But general Waſhington was in no condition to make the attempt: His army had been weakened by the large detachments drawn from it for the relief of Charleſtown; and amongſt the troops that remained with him a mutinous ſpirit began to appear, in conſequence of their ſufferings from the ſcarcity of proviſions and the want of all other neceſſaries. The deſtruction of the continental magazines by the deſultory expeditions of the preceding year, againſt different parts of the ſea-coaſt, probably laid the foundation of this ſcarcity: And the evil was increaſed by the rapid depreciation of the paper money iſſued by congreſs, which rendered it difficult for their contractors to procure ſupplies. Thus, in conſequence of the reciprocal weakneſs of the two armies, the winter paſſed without any thing material happening between them, except an ineffectual attempt made by the American general lord Stirling, about the middle of January, to take Staten Iſland. He marched over the ice from the Jerſey ſhore in the night, ſurpriſed a ſmall poſt, and made a few priſoners; but was ſoon obliged to retreat, and in his retreat loſt ſome of his own men, who ſerved to exchange for the priſoners that he had taken.

The enemy having eſtabliſhed a poſt at Young's Houſe, in the neighbourhood of the White Plains, which greatly annoyed the provincial loyaliſts, as well as the Britiſh army, by the interception of cattle and proviſions intended to be brought to New York, it became an object of importance with the governor and commander of his majeſty's troops, if poſſible, to diſlodge that party, conſiſting of about three hundred men. Much as it had been the wiſh of both to drive the enemy from this poſt, no means had been uſed for that end, on account of their diſtance, twenty miles from the out-poſts of our army, till the month of February 1780, when, after a great fall of ſnow, it was ſuggeſted that a detachment of ſoldiers might be conveyed in ſleighs in one night, and ſurpriſe the enemy by break of day. Major-general Mathew, who commanded at King's Bridge, on the ſecond of February communicated to lieutenant-colonel Norton of the guards the intention of general Tryon and lieutenant-general Knyphauſen, to ſend a detachment of troops to Young's Houſe in ſleighs, which would be ready at King's Bridge in the evening, and that lieutenant-colonel Norton was to command the party. The colonel, though highly gratified by this command, and unwilling to ſay any thing that might ſeem to retard the ſervice, or throw difficulties in the way of the intended expedition, yet thought it his duty to point out the improbability of the ſleighs anſwering the purpoſe: And ſo convinced was general Mathew, from the reaſons which lieutenant-colonel Norton adduced, of the very little chance of ſucceeding by means of the ſleighs, that general Mathew, in the handſomeſt manner, in the event of the ſleighs upon trial not being found to anſwer, left lieutenant-colonel Norton at liberty to act with the detachment as he pleaſed; either to convert it to a foraging party, to proceed, or to return, as he ſhould think moſt adviſable. Under theſe circumſtances, lieutenant-colonel Norton, on the evening of the ſecond of February 1780, ſet out with the four flank companies of the guards, two companies of Heſſians, and a party of yagers, in the ſleighs; two three-pounders, a detachment of yager cavalry, and the mounted Weſt Cheſter refugees. The ſleighs, being ſoon found, inſtead of accelerating, to retard the progreſs of the troops, were ordered back, and the detachment moved on. Not long after the men had quitted the ſleighs, and were marching forward, word was brought to lieutenant-colonel Norton, that the horſes were not able to draw the guns through the ſnow; he was therefore obliged to leave the guns, and with them a guard ſufficient to enſure their return. The detachment continued its march through bye-ways, and acroſs the country, in order to avoid falling in with the enemy's patroles, ſtill in hopes, by perſeverance and exertion, to reach Young's Houſe by break of day. At ſun-riſe, they learned from the guides that they were yet ſeven miles ſhort of the enemy's poſt: A long way for men wearied with marching all night in bad roads, and with the ſnow in many places above two feet deep. Their ſituation was, now, not a little embarraſſing. As the guns, intended to open the doors of the ſtone houſe, were left behind, to ſurpriſe the enemy was impoſſible. To proceed, and not to carry the point, would be to expoſe the detachment, in their return, already fatigued with a long and toilſome march, to be haraſſed for the ſpace of twenty miles, by an enemy in force, freſh, and with a perfect knowledge of the country. In theſe circumſtances, the colonel, unwilling to return without accompliſhing ſome object that might anſwer the expectation of thoſe who had placed their confidence in him, determined, at all events, to march to the enemy's poſt, and then act according to circumſtances; availing himſelf of ſome axes he had found by the way, and an iron crow, the better to enable the grenadiers to force the doors and windows of the houſe. When the detachment arrived within two miles of the enemy, the cavalry were ordered to advance, and inveſt the houſe in ſuch a manner as to prevent either a retreat or reinforcement. This order, from the depth of the ſnow, could not be carried into execution, and the cavalry drew up on an eminence at ſome little diſtance from the houſe. As the flank companies of the firſt battalion of guards approached, parties of the enemy were obſerved marching very deliberately to reinforce lieutenant-colonel Thomſon, in Young's Houſe. The diſpoſition for attack was then ſoon made, by deſiring lieutenant-colonel Hall, with his company of light-infantry of the guards, to aſcend the hill on his right, below which ſtood the houſe, whilſt the firſt company of grenadiers inclined a little to the left, to cut off the retreat of a party that had advanced from Hammond's, a houſe at a ſmall diſtance from Young's. Very ſhortly after the ſeparation of the two leading companies, the fireing began between the party in the houſe and lieutenant-colonel Hall's men: Nor was it long before the grenadiers came up with the party of the enemy juſt mentioned, who were in readineſs waiting for them in the orchard adjoining to Hammond's houſe, and received them with a degree of coolneſs and courage that did the Americans honour. To ſuperior force they were obliged to give way; and by the timely arrival of lieutenant-colonel Pennington, with a part of the ſecond company of grenadier guards, who had advanced in a ſtraight line, the

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the houſe was carried, and the enemy defeated. So ſharp was the conflict, and ſo ſpeedily terminated, that the whole of lieutenant-colonel Pennington's company had not time to come up, which made it impoſſible for the ſecond company of light-infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Guydickens, or the other troops, which were in the rear of the line of march, to ſhare in the action *.

The priſoners, being put under a proper eſcort, and the troops formed again in line of march, the detachment took the direct road to King's Bridge, which they reached by nine on the ſame evening †.

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* No accurate account was taken of the killed of the enemy, but from the numbers that lay dead around the houſe, there was reaſon to believe not leſs than forty. Ninety were made priſoners, among which were the lieutenant-colonel commandant of the diſtrict, 1 captain, 1 captain-lieutenant, 2 lieutenants, and 2 enſigns.

† Twelve of the priſoners were ſo ſeverely wounded, that they were obliged to be left at different houſes on the road. Eighty-ſeven were conducted to New York.

The loſs ſuſtained by the detachment under colonel Norton:—Yagers, 3 men wounded. Refugees, 1 captain wounded. Firſt light-infantry company of the guards, 1 rank and file wounded. Firſt grenadier company ditto, 2 rank and file killed. Wounded, 1 lieutenant, 1 ſerjeant, 12 rank and file. Second grenadier company of the guards, 1 ſerjeant, 3 rank and file wounded. Total; killed, 2, wounded, 23.

Lieutenant-colonel Norton made his report on the 4th of February to major-general Mathew of the killed and wounded of the detachment, together with the number of priſoners taken. In the afternoon of the 4th, the major of the brigade, in a polite letter to lieutenant-colonel Norton, incloſed him a copy of the after-orders of the 4th inſtant, viz.

Public Orders, King's Bridge, 4th of February 1780.

"Major-general Mathew returns his thanks to lieutenant-colonel Norton, and the officers and privates of the detachment under his command, for their conduct and ſpirited behaviour on the morning of the 3d inſtant, and for their intrepidity and perſeverance in that duty: The ſucceſs of which claims the general's higheſt approbation."

On the 5th of February 1780, the following Order was given out from Head Quarters at New York.

"His excellency lieutenant-general Knyphauſen deſires his thanks may be given in public orders to lieutenant-colonel Norton of the guards, for his good conduct and gallant behaviour in

For ſome days in the winter, general Waſhington's army was entirely without bread. Occaſional ſupplies were afterwards received,

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in attacking and forcing a conſiderable body of the rebels, advantageouſly poſted at Young's Houſe, in the neighbourhood of White Plains, on the morning of the 3d inſtant. His excellency returns his thanks to the officers and private ſoldiers of the different detachments employed on this ſervice; and the general is particularly obliged to the officers and men of the Weſt Cheſter refugees for their very determined behaviour upon this as well as former occaſions."

Subſequent to the order of thanks, highly flattering to colonel Norton and the party, the generals having learnt more particularly the difficulties the detachment had encountered, and thinking that the extraordinary exertions of the troops merited yet further attention at their hands, lieutenant-colonel Norton was deſired to make major-general Mathew a formal report of the excurſion to Young's Houſe, and to mention as many circumſtances as he ſhould deem worthy of notice, giving him to underſtand the report would be tranſmitted to England. Lieutenant-colonel Norton accordingly made his report to major-general Mathew, which was ſent to ſir Henry Clinton, the commander in chief, then at Charleſtown; and from ſir Henry forwarded to England by the earl of Lincoln, aid-du-camp to the commander in chief, by whom it was delivered in to the ſecretary of ſtate's office. The only account given to the public of this expedition in the Gazette, was on the 26th of April 1780, in the extract of a letter from lieutenant-general Knyphauſen to lord George Germaine, as follows:—

"General Mathew ſent a detachment of guards, and provincial horſe, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Norton, to attack a poſt at John's Houſe, upon the White Plains. This did not ſucceed entirely to his wiſhes; but the rebels, who were poſted in a houſe, were however attacked and diſlodged, with the loſs of 40 men killed and 97 made priſoners."

An act of generoſity was upon this occaſion diſplayed, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence: The wounded Americans were placed in houſes, and a ſum of money given by the Britiſh officers to the occupiers or inhabitants of thoſe houſes, as an encouragement or reward for the trouble they might be at in attending on the wounded Americans.

When the Gazette, giving an account of this expedition, arrived at New York, general Mathew immediately took it to general Knyphauſen, and ſhewed it him. General Knyphauſen exclaimed, "This is not my account! for my account of this expedition was perfectly agreeable to the order of thanks I gave, and my letter to the miniſter ſpoke in the handſomeſt manner of colonel Norton's conduct, and the officers and men under his command." But this mutilated, moſt untrue, and unjuſt account, was not without its object, it being intended to wound the feelings of the father through the ſon, the father, then ſir Fletcher Norton, afterwards lord Grantley, having dared to hint that a frugal expenditure of the public money was expected by the commons. When, as ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, he addreſſed his majeſty upon preſenting a bill, granting ſupplies to his majeſty, on the 7th of May ceived, but ſo ſcanty, that the ſufferings of the troops neceſſarily produced diſcontent; and towards the end of May two regiments actually mutinied. Means however were found to pacify them; and after ſome time they returned to their duty.

By the thawing of the ice upon the approach of ſpring, New York was reſtored to its inſular ſituation; and all further apprehenſions for its ſafety being at an end, the Britiſh commanders there were at liberty to employ their force offenſively againſt the enemy, and to take advantage of any favourable circumſtances that might occur for annoying them. Intelligence of the mutinous diſpoſition of the American army being carried to New York, and information being alſo received that the inhabitants of the Jerſeys were diſcontented with the new ſtate of things, and wiſhed to re-eſtabliſh their old form of government, general Knyphauſen was induced to detach a conſiderable force under brigadiers-general Mathew and Sterling, which landed at Elizabeth-town, in the Jerſeys, on the ſeventh of June. If the inhabitants were diſpoſed to throw off the yoke of congreſs, the force ſent to their aſſiſtance would enable them to do

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May 1777 (vide vol. i. page 273—275), ſir Fletcher Norton's ſpeech gave great offence to the miniſters; and although generals Knyphauſen's and Mathew's moſt favourable account of the expedition to Young's Houſe, together with the very handſome and well-deſerved order of thanks to colonel, now the honourable major-general, Norton of the guards, and the detachment under his command, were delivered (by the earl of Lincoln, then aid-du-camp to ſir Henry Clinton) to lord George Germaine in perſon, as the miniſter for American affairs; yet we ſee, from the Gazette account, how falſe a relation was given to the public.

There is a certain degree of fair fame, and honourable ambition, to which every good man looks up: But were that fame to be blaſted for either private or party purpoſes, all emulation, the great incentive to glorious actions, would be ſuppreſſed and deſtroyed.

It is well obſerved by the great Roman hiſtorian TACITUS (of whoſe admirable writings Mr. Murphy has, at a very ſeaſonable time, preſented to the Engliſh reader an excellent tranſlation), " That it is incumbent on the writer of hiſtory to rejudge the actions of men, to the end, that the good and worthy may meet with the reward due to eminent virtue; and that pernicious citizens may be deterred by the condemnation that waits on evil deeds at the tribunal of poſterity. In this conſiſts the chief part of the hiſtorian's duty."

it: And if a mutinous diſpoſition ſtill prevailed amongſt the ſoldiers of the American army, ſome advantage might probably be gained over general Waſhington. It ſoon however appeared that part of this intelligence was falſe, and the reſt greatly magnified. Although the inhabitants of the Jerſeys had murmured in conſequence of the depredations committed upon them by the American ſoldiers in the time of their diſtreſs for want of proviſions, they had never thought of deſerting the American cauſe: On the contrary, they made the greateſt exertions to relieve the neceſſities of thoſe very men to whoſe depredations they were expoſed; and it was principally owing to theſe exertions that the American army had not been actually diſbanded. A mutinous diſpoſition had alſo certainly diſcovered itſelf amongſt the ſoldiers of the American army: But it aroſe from diſtreſs, and not diſaffection; and the two regiments which had already mutinied, were ſoon pacified. Under ſuch circumſtances the Britiſh commanders experienced a grievous diſappointment: Inſtead of being received in the Jerſeys as friends, the militia very generally turned out to oppoſe them. During their march from Elizabeth-town to Connecticut Farms, a diſtance of only ſeven miles, they were annoyed by parties of militia the whole way; who, if they were unable to make any impreſſion, or do any conſiderable injury, ſhewed at leaſt that it was not from want of inclination: And when the Britiſh troops approached Springfield, a detachment from that army, which was repreſented to be mutinous, was ſeen drawn up in force on the other ſide of the river ready to diſpute their paſſage. It being now apparent that the information, upon which this expedition had been undertaken, was not to be depended upon, the Britiſh troops in the evening returned to Elizabeth-town, and would have croſſed the ſame night to Staten Iſland, had not the ebbing of the tide, which on that ſhore leaves a large ſpace covered with deep mud between the high land and the water, rendered it impoſ-

Unſucceſsful attempt to eſtabliſh the royal ſtandard in the Jerſeys.

impoſſibe to embark the cavalry till the next morning; and to cover their embarkation it was neceſſary that the infantry ſhould remain with them. In the mean time, the Britiſh commanders had leiſure to reflect upon their diſappointment, and the conſequences of their fruitleſs expedition; and it was determined, for the credit of the Britiſh arms, to remain ſome days longer in New Jerſey, leſt their precipitate retreat ſhould be repreſented as a flight.

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The Americans diſlodged from Springfield, and that Town deſtroyed—A French Armament arrives at Rhode Iſland—A Scheme formed by one of General Waſhington's Officers, Arnold, for delivering an important Poſt into the Hands of the Britiſh Army—Adventure and Fate of the Britiſh Adjutant-General Major André—A general Exchange of Priſoners—The Troops on both Sides retire into Winter Quarters.

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WHILST, in conſequence of this determination, the Britiſh army lay at Elizabeth-town, ſir Henry Clinton arrived from South Carolina; and the poſt at Springfield having been reinforced and put under the command of general Green, a reſolution was taken to attack and diſlodge him before the army returned to New York. In purſuance of this reſolution the army marched at break of day in the morning of the twenty-third of June, and arrived at Springfield with very little interruption. The enemy appeared determined to diſpute the further progreſs of the Britiſh troops at two different paſſes upon the river, but were diſlodged from both after a conſiderable reſiſtance, nearly about the ſame time, and forced to flee to the heights in their rear, where they again took poſt. The town of Springfield was burnt: And the Britiſh army, having reſted a few hours after the action, returned the ſame day to Elizabeth-town, and in the evening, under cover of a redoubt that had been thrown up by the Americans, but now occupied by the Britiſh, paſſed over to Staten Iſland without moleſtation, by means of a bridge of boats.

The Americans diſlodged from Springfield, and that town deſtroyed.

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Before the Britiſh troops marched out from Elizabeth-town, ſome pains had been taken to miſlead general Waſhington, as to the real deſign of the Britiſh commander. The tranſports were aſſembled, and troops embarked, as if an expedition had been intended up the North River againſt Weſt Point; and by ſuch indications general Waſhington was ſo far alarmed, that he actually marched from his camp in the Jerſeys towards the North River. But he marched with great deliberation, cautiouſly intending not to remove too far from Morris-town, until the future movements of ſir Henry Clinton ſhould enable him to diſcover his real intention; and he had proceeded only fifteen miles, when information was brought to him, that the Britiſh troops, inſtead of going up the North River, were marching out in force towards Springfield. General Waſhington immediately halted, and ſent back a detachment to reinforce general Green; but before it arrived the action at Springfield was over, and the Britiſh troops had retreated to Elizabeth-town. The real object of the expedition was probably againſt the American magazines at Morris-town: But the oppoſition made at Springfield was an indication to the commander in chief, that every mile of his future march through a country naturally difficult, and abounding with ſtrong paſſes, would be not leſs obſtinately diſputed, and determined him to abandon an enterpriſe, which, even if it ſhould be ſucceſsful, might coſt him too much; more eſpecially as the expected arrival of a powerful French armament on the coaſt of America, obliged him not to engage in any expedition that would either require much time, or carry him a conſiderable diſtance from New York.

The Britiſh army having quitted New Jerſey, general Waſhington on his part planned an enterpriſe againſt a Britiſh poſt at Bergen Point, on the North River, oppoſite to New York, which was garriſoned by ſeventy loyaliſts. This enterpriſe had for its object not only the reduction of that poſt, but the carrying away of the cattle upon Bergen Neck, from which the garriſon of New York was occaſionally ſupplied with freſh proviſions, through the poſt occupied by the loyaliſts: And the force appointed for carrying it into execution, amounted to about two thouſand men, under the command of general Wayne, who had rendered himſelf famous by the ſurpriſe of Stoney Point. At Bergen Point, the defences of which conſiſted of a block-houſe ſurrounded by an abbatis, this brave little band of loyal refugees defended themſelves againſt a cannonade of three hours, and repulſed an attempt to take the place by aſſault: In the aſſault the Americans loſt a number equal to the whole amount of the garriſon, and in their retreat ſome ſtragglers were made priſoners, and part of the cattle retaken, which they were attempting to carry off.

A French armament arrives at Rhode Iſland.

In the mean time, on the tenth of July, the expected armament from France arrived at Rhode Iſland. It conſiſted of ſeven ſhips of the line, ſome frigates, and a number of tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand troops; the fleet being commanded by the chevalier de Ternay, and the troops by the count de Rochambeau: And in order to prevent diſcuſſion, and obviate every difficulty that might ariſe upon the junction of the French troops with the American army, a commiſſion was ſent to general Waſhington, appointing him a lieutenant-general of France, which of courſe put the count de Rochambeau under his orders.

The arrival of ſo conſiderable a reinforcement diffuſed a general joy amongſt the adherents of congreſs throughout the American ſtates, and excited them to freſh exertions. Thoſe ſtates, which had lately turned a deaf ear to the applications not only of general Waſhington, but of congreſs, were now eager to raiſe and ſend forward their quotas of men: And the American army, which, from the various cauſes already mentioned, had been reduced to a ſtate of imbecility, began again to make a reſpectable appearance. When the French arrived at Rhode Iſland, the Britiſh fleet under admiral Arbuthnot was inferior to that of the chevalier de Ternay; and a plan was laid for attacking New York: But the arrival of ſix ſhips of the line from England, which followed cloſe on the track of the chevalier de Ternay, ſoon gave admiral Arbuthnot the ſuperiority; and the Britiſh commanders, inſtead of waiting to be attacked, made preparations in their turn for acting offenſively againſt the French at Rhode Iſland. Sir Henry Clinton, with the tranſports and troops deſtined for this expedition, proceeded to Huntington Bay, in the Sound, whilſt admiral Arbuthnot, with the ſhips of war, ſailed round Long Iſland, in order to co-operate by ſea. But in the mean time general Waſhington, whoſe army had been increaſed by the arrival of conſiderable reinforcements, ſuddenly paſſed the North River, and approached King's Bridge. So unexpected a movement obliged ſir Henry Clinton to abandon the expedition againſt Rhode Iſland, and return with the troops for the protection of New York, leaving admiral Arbuthnot to block up the French fleet by ſea. The object of this expedition was loſt, from a circumſtance but too frequent in the hiſtory of this country, a diſagreement between the commanders in chief of the land and naval ſervice. Upon the return of the Britiſh commander, general Waſhington drew off his forces to a greater diſtance, cautiouſly avoiding ſuch a poſition as might be the means of bringing on a general engagement.

About this time the count de Guichen was expected from the Weſt Indies, with a land force, and twenty ſhips of the line. In view of this aſſiſtance the New England militia had aſſembled very readily, and marched to Rhode Iſland, when their allies the French were threatened with an attack from ſir Henry Clinton: General Waſhington's army too, as has been already mentioned, had been greatly increaſed by the arrival of freſh reinforcements. And with theſe different bodies of men, when united, it was intended to attack New York by land, whilſt the count de Guichen, joined by the ſquadron under the chevalier de Ternay, ſhould block it up by ſea. But the count de Guichen, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, when we come to the tranſactions in the Weſt Indies, had been ſo roughly handled in his different engagements with admiral Rodney, and his ſhips were in ſo ſhattered a condition, that inſtead of proceeding to America, according to the original deſign, he returned with his fleet to France, taking under his convoy the trade from the French iſlands. The failure in ſo conſiderable a part rendered impracticable the further proſecution of the ſcheme againſt New York; and as ſoon as general Waſhington was made acquainted with the departure of the count de Guichen, it became neceſſary for him to concert new meaſures with the French commanders at Rhode Iſland, for their future operations. For this purpoſe an interview took place between them at Hartford in Connecticut, about half way between the French and American camps.

A ſcheme formed by one of general Waſhington's officers, Arnold, for delivering an important poſt into the hands of the Britiſh army.

Whilſt general Waſhington was abſent from his army upon this ſervice, a deep-laid ſcheme was formed by one of his own officers, for delivering up to ſir Henry Clinton the ſtrong poſt of Weſt Point, in the high lands upon the North River, the poſſeſſion of which would have nearly cut off all communication between the northern and middle colonies. The officer engaged in this deſign was the famous general Arnold, whoſe ſervices in the cauſe of America had been of the moſt meritorious kind, and whoſe brilliant actions in the field juſtly raiſed him to ſuperior notice and regard. After the evacuation of Philadelphia by the Britiſh troops in the year 1778, he was appointed to command the American garriſon that took poſſeſſion of it; and while he acted in that capacity had the misfortune to diſguſt many of the inhabitants, and even to fall under the diſpleaſure of congreſs. He lived expenſively, and, as was ſuppoſed, conſiderably beyond his ſtated income; but he was at the ſame time concerned in trading ſpeculations, and had ſhares in ſeveral privateers; and upon the profits expected from thoſe adventures, he probably relied, as means of enabling him to keep up the ſtate and ſtyle of

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of life he had aſſumed: He had alſo claims againſt the public to a conſiderable amount; and upon the payment of them he depended as a fund to ſatisfy the immediate demands of his creditors, who were beginning to become importunate. But the trading ſpeculations in which he had engaged proved unproductive; his privateers were unſucceſsful; and a conſiderable portion of his demand againſt the public was cut off, by the commiſſioners appointed to examine his accounts. From the deciſion of the commiſſioners, general Arnold appealed to the congreſs, who appointed a committee of their own members to reviſe the ſentence: But the committee of congreſs were even leſs favourable to his views than the commiſſioners, from whoſe deciſion he had appealed. They reported that the balance already allowed by the commiſſioners was more than general Arnold was entitled to receive.

So many diſappointments could not fail to ruffle a temper leſs irritable than general Arnold's: Recollecting his former ſervices, he gave full ſcope to his reſentment, and complained of ill-uſage and ingratitude in terms better calculated to provoke than to mollify, and ſuch as were peculiarly offenſive to congreſs. His enemies availed themſelves of his indiſcretion to ſwell the tide of popular clamour which already ran ſtrongly againſt him. A court-martial was appointed to examine into his conduct during his command in Philadelphia, and by the ſentence of that board it was in general terms reprehended, and himſelf ſubjected to the mortification of receiving a reprimand from general Waſhington.

From this moment it is ſuppoſed that Arnold formed the deſign of quitting the American ſervice and joining the Britiſh; and only delayed the execution of his purpoſe until an opportunity ſhould offer of performing ſome eſſential ſervice to the power which he was about to join, that might render his acceſſion of more importance. A correſpondence was opened with ſir Henry Clinton: The delivering up the poſt at Weſt Point, where Arnold now commanded, was the ſervice he propoſed to perform; and the interval of general Waſhington's abſence, when he went to confer with the French commanders, was the time appointed for finiſhing the negotiation. To facilitate the means of carrying on the previous correſpondence, the Vulture ſloop of war was ſtationed in the North River, at ſuch a diſtance from Weſt Point as to excite no ſuſpicion, but near enough to ſerve for the intended communication; and as general Arnold required a confidential perſon to treat with, major André, aid-du-camp to ſir Henry Clinton, and adjutant-general of the Britiſh army, undertook to confer with him, and bring the negotiation to a concluſion. For this purpoſe he repaired on board the Vulture ſloop. At night, in purſuance of a previous arrangement, a boat from the ſhore carried him to the beach, where he met general Arnold; and day-light approaching before the buſineſs on which they had met was finally adjuſted, major André was told that he muſt be conducted to a place of ſafety, and lie concealed until the following night, when he might return on board the Vulture without the danger of being diſcovered. The beach where the firſt conference was held was without, but the place of ſafety to which major André was conducted to lie concealed during the day, was within the American out-poſts, againſt his intention, and without his knowledge. Here, however, he remained with general Arnold during the day; and at night, the boatmen refuſing to carry him on board the Vulture, becauſe ſhe had ſhifted her poſition during the day, in conſequence of a gun being brought to bear upon her from the ſhore, he was reduced to the neceſſity of endeavouring to make his way to New York by land. Laying aſide his regimentals, which he had hitherto worn, he put on a plain ſuit of clothes, and receiving a paſs from general Arnold, under the aſſumed name of John Anderſon, as if he had been ſent down the country on

Adventure and fate of the Britiſh adjutant-general major André.

public buſineſs, he ſet out on his return to New York. His paſſport ſecured him from interruption at the American out-poſts; and he had already paſſed them all, and thought himſelf out of danger, when three American militia-men, who had been ſent out to patrol near the road along which he travelled, ſuddenly ſpringing from the woods, ſeized the bridle of his horſe and ſtopped him. The ſuddenneſs of the ſurpriſe ſeems to have deprived major André of his wonted preſence of mind; and, although a man of the greateſt addreſs, he was entrapped by the rude ſimplicity of clowns. Having inquired from whence they were, and being anſwered, "From below;" "And ſo," ſaid he, "am I." It was not long before he diſcovered his miſtake; but too late, it would appear, to remove the impreſſion which his firſt anſwer had made. The men who had made him priſoners ſearched him for papers, and having taken from his boot a packet, in the hand-writing of general Arnold, determined to carry him without delay to their commanding officer. It was in vain that he offered them a purſe of gold and his watch, to ſuffer him to paſs: His promiſes of an ample proviſion, and getting them promotion, if they would accompany him to New York, were equally unavailing. The unfortunate André, after theſe efforts to regain his liberty, ſeems to have been regardleſs of what might be his own fate, and was only anxious to ſave general Arnold. Before the commanding officer of the militia he continued to perſonate the ſuppoſed John Anderſon, and requeſted that a meſſenger might be ſent to general Arnold to acquaint him with his detention. A meſſenger being accordingly diſpatched, and ſufficient time having elapſed for general Arnold to make his eſcape, he no longer diſguiſed his real name, and avowed himſelf to be major André, adjutant-general of the Britiſh army: He alſo wrote a letter to general Waſhington, in his real name, acquainting him that he was his priſoner, and accounting for the diſguiſe which neceſſity had bliged him to aſſume. The meſſage ſent to general Arnold, announcing the detention of John Anderſon, was ſufficient notice to him to provide for his own ſafety: He quitted Weſt Point without delay, got on board the Vulture ſloop, and in her proceeded to New York.

In the mean time general Waſhington returned from his interview with the French commanders, and being informed of what had paſſed during his abſence, together with Arnold's eſcape, he reinforced the garriſon of Weſt Point with a ſtrong detachment from his army, and appointed a board of general officers, to inquire into and report upon the caſe of major André. The candid, open, manly, and ingenuous explanation of his conduct, given by major André, before the board of officers, impreſſed with admiration and eſteem even his enemies who were about to ſhed his blood. Diſmiſſing from his thoughts all perſonal conſiderations of danger, he was only anxious that the tranſaction in which he had been engaged, ſhaded as it was by the intervention of unfortunate circumſtances, might be cleared from obſcurity, and appear in its genuine colours, at leaſt with reſpect to his intention, which was incapable of ſwerving from the paths of honour. But the board of officers fixing their attention upon the naked fact of his being in diſguiſe within their lines, without perhaps duly conſidering the unfortunate train of incidents which unexpectedly, and almoſt unavoidably, led him into that ſituation, were of opinion that he came under the deſcription, and ought to ſuffer the puniſhment, of a ſpy.

The concern felt at New York, in conſequence of the capture of major Andre, was in the mean time inconceivably great: His gallantry as an officer, and amiable demeanour as a man, had gained him not only the admiration, but the affection, of the whole army; and the uncertainty of his fate filled them with the deepeſt anxiety. Sir Henry Clinton, whoſe eſteem and regard he enjoyed in an eminent degree, immediately opened a correſpondence with general

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Waſhington, by means of a flag of truce, and urged every motive which juſtice, policy, or humanity, could ſuggeſt, to induce a remiſſion of the ſentence. Finding his letters ineffectual, he ſent out general Robertſon, with a flag, to confer upon the ſubject with any officer that ſhould be appointed by general Waſhington. An interview took place between general Robertſon and general Green, who had been preſident of the court-martial. But all efforts to ſave the unfortunate André were unavailing: His doom was irrevocably fixed. The greatneſs of the danger which the American army had eſcaped by the diſcovery of Arnold's plot before it was ripe for execution, ſeems to have extinguiſhed in the breaſt of the inexorable Waſhington, every ſpark of humanity that remained. Although entreated by a moſt pathetic letter from major André, written on the day previous to his execution, to change the mode of his death from that of a common malefactor to one more correſpondent to the feelings of a ſoldier, he would not condeſcend to grant even this inconſiderable boon to the ſupplication of his unfortunate priſoner: And on the ſecond day of October this accompliſhed young officer met his fate, in the manner preſcribed by his ſentence, with a compoſure, ſerenity, and fortitude, which aſtoniſhed the beholders, and excited thoſe emotions of ſympathy that would have been more honourably and humanely exerciſed in averting than lamenting his fate.

Thus fell the unfortunate André. If intention is neceſſary to conſtitute guilt; and if guilt alone merits puniſhment, ſome doubt may be entertained with reſpect to the ſentence of the board of officers. Major André did not, at firſt, knowingly enter within the American lines: He was then alſo in his regimentals: And when he actually found himſelf within thoſe lines, contrarily to his intention, whatever he afterwards did, in order to extricate himſelf, by aſſuming a diſguiſe, and uſing a feigned paſſport, ought rather to be aſcribed to the impoſed neceſſity of his ſituation than to choice.

But, even if the ſentence pronounced againſt him ſhould be found agreeable to the letter of the law of nations, ſo unſuitable is the exerciſe of extreme juſtice to our imperfect ſtate, that we turn with diſguſt from thoſe tranſactions, in which the finer feelings of humanity have been ſacrificed to its rigour. Bright as the fame of Waſhington ſhall ſhine in the annals of America, as one of the moſt illuſtrious ſupporters of her independence, the ſons of freedom will lament the cold inſenſibility, that did not ſuffer him to interpoſe, in order to reſcue from his fate ſo gallant an officer, and even could withhold from him the poor conſolation of meeting death like a ſoldier; whilſt a glance of indignation ſhall dart from the eyes of her fair and compaſſionate daughters, ſoftened only by the tear of pity for the fate of the accompliſhed André.

From ſo tragic an event, tending by its ſeverity to increaſe, we paſs with pleaſure to an arrangement calculated to leſſen, the calamities of war. This was an agreement for a general exchange of priſoners, finally ſettled and adjuſted towards the cloſe of the preſent year, between major-general Philips, on the part of the Britiſh army, and major-general Lincoln, on the part of the Americans, the former having been an Ameriean priſoner ever ſince the convention of Saratoga, and the latter a Britiſh priſoner ſince the fall of Charleſtown.

The congreſs had, from policy, hitherto reſiſted all propoſals for a general exchange upon equitable terms. They knew the expence that attended recruiting the Britiſh army from Europe: They knew alſo that their own army would receive no great increaſe of ſtrength by a releaſe of the Americans detained as priſoners, becauſe the ſhort periods for which the American ſoldiers enliſted, during the firſt years of the war, would have generally expired before an exchange could have been effected. But the clamours of their people, ſo long detained in captivity, and for whoſe releaſe they had ſhewn ſo much indifference, had now become ſo loud; ſo many of their regular

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regular ſoldiers had been made priſoners by the capture of Charleſtown, and the defeat of general Gates at Camden; and in conſequence of theſe diſaſters ſo much difficulty had been experienced in recruiting their army during the preſent year; that neceſſity, rather than choice, obliged them at laſt to yield to an equitable arrangement. An ineffectual attempt was made for the releaſe of the privates of general Burgoyne's army, who had been priſoners ſince the convention of Saratoga: But nothing could prevail upon the congreſs to depart from their former reſolutions; and the convention troops were deſtined to captivity during the remainder of the war.

The cold weather beginning to ſet in, put an end to all further active operations in the field. The Britiſh troops went into winter quarters in New York and its dependencies: The French troops remained at Rhode Iſland: And general Waſhington continued to occupy the high grounds bordering on the North River, from whence in a ſhort time he was obliged to diſcharge a conſiderable part of the new levies, in conſequence of a want of bread for their ſubſiſtence.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Tranſactions in Europe and the Weſt Indies—Succeſſes of the Britiſh Fleet under Admiral Rodney—Relief of Gibraltar—Growing Differences between Great Britain and Holland—Armed Neutrality, or Aſſociation among Neutral Maritime Powers, for the Purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the Doctrine that Free Ships make Free Goods—Suſpenſion of the Treaties between Great Britain and Holland—Naval Tranſactions—Commercial Treaty between America and Holland—War on the Part of Great Britain againſt the Dutch.

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BUT the tranſactions in Europe and the Weſt Indies now demand our attention. Admiral Rodney, whom his ſervices in the preceding war had recommended to the notice of the miniſtry, being appointed to command the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, failed for that ſtation, with a reinforcement of ſhips, about the beginning of the preſent year; and advantage was taken of his convoy to ſend a freſh ſupply of proviſions and ſtores for the relief of the garriſon at Gibraltar, which had been blockaded by the Spaniards from the commencement of the war with that nation. That this ſervice might be performed without any danger of miſcarriage, a part of the channel fleet was put under admiral Rodney's command, which was to accompany him as far as Gibraltar.

It ſeems to have been reſerved for this commander to revive, by his ſucceſſes, the memory of our glorious atchievements in former wars.

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wars. He had been but a few days at ſea, when he fell in with and took a fleet of twenty-three ſail of Spaniſh ſhips bound from St. Sebaſtian to Cadiz, ſixteen of them laden with proviſions, naval ſtores, and bale goods, and the reſt ſhips of war belonging to the royal company of Caraccas that had been aſſigned to the others as a convoy. The ſame good fortune, about a week afterwards, brought him in ſight of a Spaniſh fleet of eleven ſhips of the line and two frigates, that were cruiſing off Cape St. Vincent, under the command of Don Juan Langara. A lee-ſhore at no great diſtance favoured the eſcape of the enemy, and rendered a purſuit from the Britiſh fleet hazardous; and the ſhortneſs of a winter's day, already far advanced, with tempeſtuous weather, increaſed the danger. But the gallant Rodney, like the intrepid Hawke, choſe to riſque ſomething, where the performance of a great national ſervice was the expected conſequence; and threw out the ſignal for a general chaſe, taking the lee-gage to cut off the enemy from the ſhore. Night came on; but the purſuit was ſtill continued. The ſhips of the Britiſh fleet cloſed with thoſe of the enemy as faſt as they could get up; and the action was not ended till two in the morning, when the Monarca, the headmoſt of the enemy's fleet, ſtruck to the Sandwich, admiral Rodney's ſhip. The San Domingo, one of the enemy's ſhips, blew up early in the engagement; and every ſoul on board periſhed. Four of their fleet, including the Phœnix of eighty guns, Don Juan Langara's ſhip, were taken and carried into Gibraltar. Two others had ſtruck; but after the officers had been ſhifted, were driven on ſhore by the tempeſtuous weather, and one of them was entirely loſt. The two frigates, and four ſhips of the line, alone eſcaped, two of the latter much damaged in the action. The enemy, although inferior in number, maintained a running fight with great bravery; and the victory was not obtained but at the expence of thirty-two killed, and one hundred and two wounded, on board the Britiſh fleet. The weather continued ſo tempeſtuous, that it was with difficulty ſome of the Britiſh ſhips, on the day after the action, were able to extricate themſelves from the dangerous ſhoals of St. Lucar.

Relief of Gibraltar.

The convoy being conducted ſafely to Gibraltar, and the proviſions and ſtores having been landed, admiral Digby, taking under his charge the Spaniſh prizes and homeward-bound tranſports, ſailed for England on the fifteenth of February, with the greateſt part of the fleet; and admiral Rodney, with the reſt, proceeded to his ſtation in the Weſt Indies. The homeward-bound fleet under admiral Digby got ſight of a French convoy, eſcorted by ſeveral ſhips of war, but at ſuch a diſtance that the greateſt part of it eſcaped by an early flight. The Prothée, a French ſhip of ſixty-four guns, one of the eſcort, was however taken, and ſome few of the merchant-ſhips.

Growing differences between Great Britain and Holland.

In the mean time the differences ſubſiſting between Great Britain and Holland were every day increaſing, and verging faſt towards a ſtate of hoſtility. The Dutch merchants, particularly thoſe of Amſterdam, had, from the beginning of the diſturbances in America, maintained a correſpondence with the people of that country, and in the progreſs of the war ſupplied them, not only with merchandiſe, but with warlike ſtores, without which the very unequal conteſt could not have been ſo long ſupported by the Americans. The carrying on a clandeſtine intercourſe of ſuch a nature, with thoſe whom Great Britain claimed as her ſubjects, was not to be endured, even in a nation ſtrictly neutral, and far leſs in one bound to her by the moſt ſolemn engagements of ancient friendſhip and alliance. Various remonſtrances on this ſubject were accordingly preſented by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, but no ſatisfaction was obtained. After the interference of France in the war, the unfriendly proceedings of the Dutch became ſtill more notorious: As they had heretofore ſupplied the Americans with whatever they wanted, and indeed ſtill continued to do the ſame, ſo now they became the carriers of naval ſtores for the French. The remonſtrances preſented on this occaſion having been found ineffectual, the commander of the Britiſh navy received orders to prevent a trade which the Dutch, from good faith, ought to have prohibited. In purſuance of theſe orders, ſuch of the Dutch merchant-ſhips as were found laden with naval ſtores for the uſe of the French, were brought into Britiſh ports, from whence they were ſuffered to depart as ſoon as the prohibited articles had been landed; and in the mean time full ſatisfaction was made to the ſhip-owners for their freight. This proceeding, however equitable, produced much diſcontent among the Dutch merchants: They complained that by the ſeizure and detention of their veſſels, the expreſs letter of the treaties ſubſiſting between Great Britain and the republic of the States General was groſsly violated; whilſt the real fact was, that they themſelves, by furniſhing the enemies of Great Britain with things neceſſary for carrying on the war, which this proceeding was calculated to prevent, were acting directly contrary to the ſpirit of all thoſe treaties.

By the vigilance of the Britiſh cruiſers this trade was in ſome degree checked; and the ſupplies, thus obtained by the French, became not a little precarious. But towards the beginning of the preſent year, a number of Dutch ſhips, laden with naval ſtores, being ready to ſail for the ports of France, the owners availed themſelves of the opportunity of the departure of a Dutch ſquadron that was proceeding to the Mediterranean, under the command of count Byland, to put their ſhips under his protection in their paſſage through the channel. Timely information of their deſign being conveyed to the Britiſh court, commodore Fielding was diſpatched, with a ſufficient force, to cruiſe in the channel, examine the Dutch convoy, and ſeize ſuch of the ſhips as were found carrying on the trade which Great Britain was determined to prohibit. The two fleets met in the channel on the third of January. Permiſſion to examine the convoy being refuſed, and the boats of the Britiſh fleet ſent for that purpoſe being fired upon, commodore Fielding fired a ſhot acroſs the way of the Dutch admiral, which was anſwered with a broadſide from the latter. The Britiſh commodore did not fail to return the ſalute, when the Dutch admiral ſtruck his colours. In the mean time the greateſt part of the convoy had borne away for the coaſt of France, and eſcaped: Thoſe that remained were ſafely conducted to Spithead, whither count Byland choſe to accompany them, to wait for orders from the States General, although he was told by commodore Fielding, that he was at liberty to proceed upon his voyage. This proceeding, bordering upon hoſtility, increaſed the clamours of the diſcontented in Holland, and added ſtrength to the party attached to France, which was already too powerful.

Armed neutrality, or aſſociation among neutral maritime powers, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing the doctrine, that free ſhips make free goods.

Whilſt Great Britain was thus availing herſelf of her maritime power to prevent the Dutch from ſupplying her enemies with the means of carrying on the war, another of her allies, upon whom ſhe had alſo ſtrong claims of friendſhip, was actively engaged in promoting a ſcheme for altering the received law of nations, and rendering ſuch a trade legitimate as the Dutch had been attempting to carry on with France. It was obviouſly the intent of the greater maritime powers, when engaged in war, that the ſhips of neutral nations ſhould be liable to a ſearch, and ſhould not protect enemy's property; and ſuch was hitherto held to be the law of nations, except in thoſe inſtances where it had been altered by treaties and conventions between particular powers: It was not leſs evidently the intereſt of the weaker commercial powers, when engaged in war, that the ſhips of neutral nations ſhould paſs free and unmoleſted; becauſe, whenever the ſtate of the war rendered them unable to carry on trade in their own ſhips, they might employ thoſe of neutral powers. The alteration propoſed by this ſcheme was, that a free ſhip ſhould make free goods, or, in other words, that a neutral ſhip, although loaded with a cargo belonging to one of the powers at war, ſhould paſs as free and unmoleſted as in time of peace: A ſcheme evidently intended to wound Great Britain in her moſt eſſential intereſt; and, to her ſurpriſe, Ruſſia was the power that brought it forward. In the war of the latter with the Turks ſome few years before, the conduct of Great Britain had been ſuch as to entitle her to expect from Ruſſia, ſupport and aſſiſtance under her preſent embarraſſments, rather than a regulation calculated to increaſe them. But with nations, if not with individuals, views of intereſt are the grand motives to action; and their policy conſiſts in improving thoſe opportunities that occur for promoting it: Friendſhip, gratitude, and the other virtuous affections that adorn private life, ſeem to have little influence upon their conduct. In a war between Great Britain and the kingdoms of France and Spain, the local ſituation of the former enables her in a great meaſure to cut off thoſe ſupplies of naval ſtores which the north of Europe alone can furniſh. Hence, in time of war between thoſe powers, this kind of trade experiences conſiderable interruptions: Ruſſia, Sweden, and Denmark, all partook of the loſs ariſing from ſuch interruptions: And the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of Great Britain was laid hold of as a fit opportunity for compelling her to ſubmit to ſuch a regulation as might remove the incovenience complained of by theſe northern powers. This ſcheme is ſaid to have originated with the king of Sweden; but it was firſt promulgated by a declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia addreſſed to the belligerent powers, which was followed by declarations of the like import from the courts of Sweden and Denmark: The baſis of the whole being, that neutral powers unconcerned in the war ſhould be permitted to carry on their commerce in the ſame unlimited manner as in time of peace, thoſe articles called contraband alone excepted. The other neutral powers in Europe were invited to accede to the principles contained in theſe declarations; and as it was propoſed to compel the practical execution of them by a maritime force, to be equipped by each of the contracting parties, hence the confederation gained the name of the armed neutrality.

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The declaration of the empreſs of Ruſſia being conformable to the preſent intereſt of the courts of France and Spain, was received by them with the utmoſt ſatisfaction; and ſuitable anſwers were returned. Great Britain alone was to ſuſtain an injury from it, and at another time, and under different circumſtances, perhaps it might have been reſented as an inſult. But at preſent it was thought fit to return an anſwer which might neither give offence, nor derogate from the dignity of the Britiſh nation by a tame ſubmiſſion to the claims of the northern powers. The anſwer was decent and reſpectful: But, far from admitting the principles laid down by the empreſs of Ruſſia, the general law of nations, as it had been hitherto underſtood, was held out as the only rule of deciſion in maritime caſes, except ſo far as it had been altered by treaties between particular powers; and that between thoſe powers the treaties of courſe furniſhed the rule. The empreſs was aſſured, that from the commencement of the war the ſtricteſt orders had been iſſued to the Britiſh naval commanders for reſpecting her flag, and obſerving all the ſtipulations contained in the commercial treaty ſubſiſting between the two nations; and that the ſame orders would be continued, and ſtrictly executed. But ſhould any infringement happen, the courts of admiralty, to whom the deciſion in ſuch caſes belonged, would afford redreſs in ſo equitable a manner as ſhould be perfectly ſatisfactory to her imperial majeſty.

By theſe proceedings of the northern powers it became ſufficiently apparent that from them Great Britain was neither to expect aſſiſtance nor ſupport: And about this time it ſeems to have been determined in the Britiſh cabinet to put to the teſt the ſincerity of the Dutch, and try how far they were to be relied on for the performance of thoſe engagements to which they were bound by treaty. The ground of the alliance between Great Britain and Holland was mutual ſafety and protection; and in caſe either nation was attacked, the other was to furniſh certain ſuccours. Theſe had been already formally demanded, on the part of Great Britain, after Spain took a part in the war: But the States General had hitherto neglected either to furniſh the ſuccours, or give a ſatisfactory anſwer to the demand. The Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague was now inſtructed to preſent a remonſtrance on the ſubject, to claim the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, and to declare, that, if a ſatisfactory anſwer was not given to this requiſition, within three weeks after the delivery of the remonſtrance, ſuch a neglect on the part of the States General would be conſidered as a declaration that they withdrew from the alliance between the two nations. The remonſtrance was accordingly preſented on the twenty-firſt of March, and no ſatisfactory anſwer being given within the time limited, the threat held out was put in execution. By an order of the king in council, bearing date the ſeventeenth of April, all the treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations were to be ſuſpended, and the ſubjects of the States General were in future to be entitled to no other privileges than thoſe enjoyed by neutral nations, unconnected with Great Britain by treaty.

Suſpenſion of the treaties between Great Britain and Holland. April.

By this deciſive meaſure the unfriendly diſpoſition of the Dutch towards the Britiſh nation was laid open, or, at leaſt, their total indifference about its fate: And it ſeems to have been wiſe policy in the Britiſh miniſtry to put that diſpoſition to the teſt; ſince it is ſafer to have an open enemy than an inſidious friend. Theſe ſeveral tranſactions, which happened ſoon after the beginning of the preſent year, diſcloſed the temper of moſt of the powers of Europe, upon whom Great Britain had any claim for aſſiſtance; and from them it became manifeſt, that ſhe muſt henceforward ſupport the conteſt againſt the united power of the houſe of Bourbon, not only without the aid of a ſingle ally, but under the conviction that the other nations of Europe viewed her danger with unconcern, and rather rejoiced in the proſpect of her ruin, than wiſhed to prevent it: A conviction mortifying no doubt in the extreme, but at the ſame time not entirely without its uſe, as it had a tendency to ſtimulate to the braveſt exertions thoſe who felt the genuine flame of patriotiſm, and whoſe love for their country was ſuperior to all the conſiderations of party.

May. Naval tranſactions.

Upon the death of ſir Charles Hardy, in the month of May, the command of the channel fleet was given to admiral Geary, who ſailed in queſt of the enemy, about the uſual time, with thirty ſhips of the line. During his cruiſe, in the beginning of July, he came in ſight of a fleet of about thirty ſail, which he afterwards found to be a convoy of French merchantmen from Port au Prince, in the Weſt Indies, bound to France. A general chaſe was immediately ordered; but it was evening before the headmoſt of the Britiſh fleet reached the enemy, and a fog ſoon afterwards coming on, twelve only of the merchantmen were taken. The reſt, with the two armed ſhips that accompanied them as a convoy, eſcaped in the fog.

The French and Spaniſh fleets again formed a junction this year, as they had done in the preceding one. They did not however attempt to enter the channel, but cruiſed in that tract through which the outward-bound trade from Great Britain to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies uſually paſſes, and from their number ſpread over an immenſe extent of ſea. A fleet for the Eaſt Indies, and another for the Weſt Indies, ſailed together from Portſmouth towards the end of July, under the convoy of captain Moutray of the Ramillies, attended by two frigates, and unfortunately, in the night of the eighth of

Auguſt, fell in with that diviſion of the combined fleet which was commanded by Don Lewis de Cordova. The Ramillies, with the two frigates, and a few merchantmen, eſcaped: All the reſt, amounting to more than forty ſail, were taken and carried into Cadiz. This misfortune was the more ſeverely felt, as a number of the ſhips were loaded with naval and military ſtores for the uſe of the ſettlements in thoſe parts of the world to which they were bound. Not long afterwads admiral Geary reſigned his command, and was ſucceeded by admiral Darby.

The oppoſite grand fleets did not this year come in ſight of each other: Of courſe nothing deciſive was done by ſea. But ſeveral hard-fought actions took place between ſingle ſhips, in which Britiſh valour maintained its wonted ſuperiority. In theſe actions the Belle Poule of thirty-two guns became a prize to the Nonſuch, commanded by ſir James Wallace: The Artois and Pearl, two French frigates, were taken by commodore Johnſtone, in the Romney; the Nymphe, by captain Peere Williams in the Flora; and the Count d'Artois, a private ſhip of war, mounting ſixty-four guns, by captain Macbride in the Bienfaiſant. Nor muſt we omit a gallant action performed by captain Moor, of the Fame, private ſhip of war belonging to Dublin, who alone attacked five French privateers, drawn up to receive him off Cape de Gat, and captured four of them.

The ſiege and blockade of Gibraltar was ſtill continued by the Spaniards; but with no greater proſpect of ſucceſs than when it commenced. The danger of a famine, ariſing from the long continuance of the blockade, was averted by the ſupplies which admiral Rodney conveyed in the beginning of the year: And all the other efforts of the Spaniards to reduce it, were either prevented from taking effect by the vigilance of general Elliott, or ſucceſsfully reſiſted by the determined ſpirit and perſevering bravery of the garriſon.

After relieving Gibraltar, in the manner already related, admiral Rodney proceeded to his ſtation in the Weſt Indies, and arrived at St. Lucie on the twenty-ſeventh of March. The reinforcement of ſhips, which he carried out, brought the contending fleets nearer to an equality; the ſuperiority in numbers ſtill, however, remaining with the French. But although, before the arrival of admiral Rodney, the French fleet was ſo much ſuperior to that of Great Britain in the Weſt India ſeas, no advantage was obtained proportioned to that ſuperiority: On the contrary, the trade of the enemy had been greatly annoyed, their force leſſened by the capture of ſeveral of their frigates, and the empire of the ſea diſputed with an undaunted firmneſs which no ſuperiority in number could diſmay. Only two days before the arrival of admiral Rodney, monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruiſing with four ſhips of ſeventy-four guns, and two frigates, for the protection of the French trade, fell in with and attacked three Britiſh ſhips of war, one of them mounting ſixty-four, another fifty, and the third only forty-four guns, the largeſt commanded by the honourable captain Cornwallis. Notwithſtanding the great diſparity both in number and force, the Britiſh commander gallantly prepared to receive the enemy's attack, and to give a new diſplay of Britiſh valour on that element on which it ſeems peculiarly deſtined to ſhine. The engagement began about five in the afternoon, and was continued during the whole night, and part of the following day, when the combatants ſeparated, as if by mutual conſent, to repair their reſpective damages. On the third day in the morning, a Britiſh ſhip of ſixty-four guns, and two frigates, having appeared in ſight, captain Cornwallis reſolutely bore down upon the enemy to bring them again to action: But the French ſquadron had ſuffered ſo much in the firſt engagement, that monſieur de la Motte Piquet declined to renew it, notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of force he ſtill poſſeſſed. Alſo, previous to the arrival of admiral Rodney, the count de Guichen, with twenty-five ſhips of the line, eight frigates, and a number of tranſports with troops, had appeared before St. Lucie, and diſcovered an apparent deſign of attacking it; but after viewing the diſpoſitions made on ſhore, by general Vaughan, and the judicious arrangement of the ſquadron under admiral Hyde Parker, for repelling the attack, he thought proper to return to Martinique, without making the attempt. This viſit was returned by ſir George Rodney ſoon after his arrival. On the ſecond of April he ſailed for Fort Royal Bay, in Martinique, to offer battle to the enemy, and approached near enough to exchange ſome ſhot with their batteries on ſhore. The count de Guichen however did not think fit to come out: And admiral Rodney, after remaining two days before Fort Royal, and endeavouring in vain to provoke the enemy to an engagement, returned to St. Lucie, leaving ſome faſt-ſailing veſſels to bring the earlieſt intelligence of any movement that ſhould be made by them.

Nothing happened till the fifteenth of April, when, in the middle of the night, the count de Guichen came out of Fort Royal harbour, and ſailed with twenty-three ſhips of the line, and a number of frigates. Immediate intelligence being conveyed to ſir George Rodney, he inſtantly put to ſea, with twenty ſhips of the line. On the ſixteenth, he got ſight of the enemy, and on the ſeventeenth, after various manœuvres practiſed on both ſides, by the one to elude, and by the other to force an engagement, the French fleet was brought to action. The firing began about one, and did not ceaſe till four in the afternoon. The Sandwich, ſir George Rodney's ſhip, after beating three of the enemy's fleet in ſucceſſion, out of the line, engaged with the Couronne, the count de Guichen's ſhip, ſupported by two others, the Triumphant and Fendant, and, although alone, maintained this unequal combat for an hour and a half, at the end of which the French admiral bore away. At this time the enemy might be ſaid to be completely beaten; but ſuch was the diſtance of the van and the rear from the centre of the Britiſh fleet, and ſuch the crippled ſtate of ſeveral of the ſhips, particularly the Sandwich, which for twenty-four hours was with difficulty kept above water, that an immediate purſuit could not be ordered with any proſpect of advantage. In the mean time every endeavour was uſed to refit the diſabled ſhips; and on the twentieth, the Britiſh commander again deſcried the enemy. He purſued them, for three days ſucceſſively, but without effect. They ſtudiouſly avoided an engagement, and endeavoured to puſh for Fort Royal in Martinique. From this retreat they were however cut off by ſir George Rodney, who had penetrated their intention in time to counteract it; and they were at laſt obliged to take ſhelter under Guadaloupe. In the action the loſs of men on board the Britiſh fleet amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred and fifty-three wounded: That of the French in killed and wounded was ſaid to be near one thouſand. Although a victory was undoubtedly obtained, it is plain, from the Britiſh commander's diſpatches, that it was not ſo complete as he wiſhed, and had reaſon to expect at the beginning of the action: And although blame is not directly imputed to any of the officers under him, it is apparent that he thought himſelf not well ſupported by ſome of them. Sir George Rodney, finding, from an ineffectual purſuit of three days, that it was in vain to follow the enemy any farther, judged it beſt, as the next poſſible chance of bringing them again to action, to be off Fort Royal in Martinique before them, the only harbour in the Weſt Indies where they could repair their damages. To Fort Royal he accordingly directed his courſe, and continued to cruiſe off Martinique, until the condition of ſome of his own ſhips obliged him to return to Gros Iſlet Bay in St. Lucie to refit.

The

1780.

The ſick and wounded having been landed, and the fleet watered and refitted, the Britiſh commander receiving information by his cruiſers, on the ſixth of May, that the French fleet was approaching to windward of Martinique, immediately ſailed in queſt of it with nineteen ſhips of the line, two ſhips of fifty guns, and ſome frigates. After beating to windward for ſeveral days, he at laſt got ſight of the object of his wiſhes: But it was not the intention of the count de Guichen to riſque an engagement, and being to windward, he had it much in his power to avoid it; yet not ſo effectually, but that the rear of his fleet was brought to action by the van of ſir George Rodney's on the fifteenth and nineteenth of May, and on both days the advantage was manifeſtly on the ſide of the latter. After the laſt of theſe actions the French fleet ſtood to the northward with ſuch a preſs of ſail, that in three days their whole fleet was out of ſight. Their ſuperiority in ſailing was ſuch, that all further purſuit ſeemed in vain; and ſir George Rodney, having been led in chaſe of them already forty leagues to windward of Martinique, proceeded to Barbadoes to refit ſuch of his ſhips as had been diſabled in the late engagements. The abſence of the Britiſh fleet afforded an opportunity to the count de Guichen, which he did not fail to embrace, of returning with his ſhattered ſquadron to the harbour of Fort Royal.

That ſir George Rodney ſhould put his fleet in the beſt poſſible ſtate, and that he ſhould occupy a windward ſtation, became the more neceſſary, in conſequence of information, received by him about this time, of the approach of a fleet from Spain, which if ſuffered unmoleſted to join that of France, would give to the latter a dangerous ſuperiority. The Spaniſh fleet, of which he received information, had ſailed from Cadiz on the twenty-eighth of April, under the command of Don Joſeph Solano, and conſiſted of twelve ſhips of the line, a proportionable number of frigates, and eighty-three tranſports, having on board near twelve thouſand troops, and a conſiderable train of artillery. That the Britiſh admiral might not loſe the opportunity of intercepting this armament, he uſed the greateſt diſpatch in refitting his fleet at Barbadoes; and having put to ſea as ſoon as it was in readineſs, cruiſed in that latitude, in which, according to the information conveyed to him, there was the greateſt chance of meeting with Don Solano. But the extreme caution of the latter proved the means of his ſafety, and defeated all the attempts of the Britiſh admiral to intercept him. Inſtead of ſailing directly to Fort Royal Bay in Martinique, the appointed place of rendezvous, he kept more to the northward, and ſtopped ſhort at Guadaloupe, diſpatching a frigate to acquaint count de Guichen of his arrival, and requeſting a junction where he then was. The count de Guichen, upon receiving this intelligence, immediately ſailed, with eighteen ſhips of the line, and keeping to leeward of the iſlands, joined the Spaniſh ſquadron under Dominique.

The combined fleet now poſſeſſed ſo great a ſuperiority, that it had nothing to fear from ſir George Rodney; and the land force, that accompanied it, was ſo conſiderable as to portend ruin to the Britiſh intereſt in the Weſt Indies by the ſucceſſive reduction of all the iſlands. It was generally ſuppoſed that the conqueſt of Jamaica was the principal object of the Spaniſh armament, in effecting which the French fleet, without doubt, was to co-operate. But the Spaniſh troops had been ſo crowded on board the tranſports, that a peſtilential diſtemper broke out amongſt them: And it raged with ſuch violence about the time of their arrival in the Weſt Indies, that it became neceſſary to land the men in order to check its progreſs. For this purpoſe the combined fleet proceeded to Fort Royal Bay in Martinique: And the allies were for a time obliged to ſuſpend their operations.

Sir George Rodney having been diſappointed in his deſign of intercepting the Spaniſh ſquadron, returned to Gros Iſlet Bay in St. Lucie, as the moſt convenient ſtation for obtaining early intelligence of any movement made by the enemy. Although their numbers had been leſſened by the contagious diſtemper, they were ſtill in ſufficient force to have attempted the conqueſt of Jamaica with every proſpect of ſucceſs: But a difference of opinion between the two commanders proved fatal to the expedition. After remaining inactive for ſeveral weeks in the bay of Fort Royal, the combined fleets put to ſea in the night of the fifth of July, without making ſignals or ſhewing lights, and directed their courſe to Saint Domingo. Here they ſeparated, the count de Guichen with the French fleet putting in to Cape François, whilſt Don Solano with the Spaniſh fleet proceeded to the Havannah. The count de Guichen remained at Cape François only until the homeward-bound trade from the French iſlands had aſſembled, when, taking it under his protection, he ſailed directly for Europe.

July.

Sir George Rodney probably concluded that the count de Guichen only meant to convoy the trade to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the continent of America to execute the plan concerted with general Waſhington; and that he might be in readineſs to thwart the count's operations there, as he had already done in the Weſt Indies, he ſailed for New York with eleven ſhips of the line and four frigates, where he arrived in September, as has been already related. But the truth was, that the count de Guichen's fleet was not in a condition to execute his part of the plan: His ſhips had been ſo ſhattered in his different engagements with ſir George Rodney, that he found it neceſſary to return as ſpeedily as poſſible to Europe, to give them a thorough repair.

In the mean time an incident occurred, which opened more fully to the view of the Britiſh cabinet, the hoſtile deſigns of the Dutch.

So long ago as the month of September in the year 1778, a private interview had taken place at Aix la Chapelle, between William Lee, formerly an alderman of London, and then an agent for the American congreſs, and John de Neufville, a merchant of Amſterdam, acting under powers delegated to him by Van Berkel, grand penſionary of that city. The object of their interview was to plan the outlines of a commercial treaty, which might be proper to be entered into between the revolted colonies in America and the Seven United Provinces: And at the concluſion of their conferences, certain proviſionary articles were agreed upon, and ſigned by the reſpective agents, as thoſe upon the baſis of which a treaty might be hereafter formed. Duplicates of the articles were tranſmitted both to Holland and America; and great ſecrecy obſerved to prevent the tranſaction from coming to the knowledge of the Britiſh court. All this was done, whilſt the Dutch were pretending to act the part of good and faithful allies to the king of Great Britain, and at his requiſition formally prohibiting, in appearance, an intercourſe between their ſubjects and the revolted colonies: And perhaps it was not their original intention to carry the matter farther, but to ſuffer the clandeſtine commerce between the Dutch dominions and America, to be conducted agreeably to the proviſions of this unfiniſhed arrangement, during the continuance of the war, at the end of which the proceedings of John de Neufville might be either confirmed or diſavowed, as ſuited their intereſt; and accordingly nothing farther was done towards completing the treaty for near two years. But the finances of the congreſs had become deranged, and their paper money had been depreciated to ſuch an extent, that they ſaw it would be impoſſible to maintain the conteſt much longer without the aid of a foreign loan, which they found from experience could only be negotiated in Holland: And even there the monied men were averſe to truſting their property upon ſuch ſecurity as a people could offer, whoſe ſovereignty and independence were yet unacknowledged by the States General. Beſides the general intereſt, therefore, which the congreſs had in getting the independence of the American ſtates acknowledged by as many of the European powers as poſſible, they had a peculiar intereſt in procuring that acknowledgment from the States General, in order to facilitate the negotiation of the propoſed loan; and they were encouraged to hope for ſucceſs in their ſolicitations to that end, partly from the favourable diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Amſterdam towards their cauſe, who had already taſted the ſweets of the American commerce, and partly from the prevalence of a party which the intrigues of the court of France had raiſed in Holland in oppoſition to the Stadtholder and the Britiſh intereſt.

Commercial treaty between America and Holland.

Moved by ſuch conſiderations, the congreſs in the preſent year appointed their late preſident, Henry Laurens, to proceed to Holland as their ambaſſador, with full powers to bring the commercial treaty to a concluſion. Mr. Laurens accordingly embarked at Philadelphia in a veſſel bound to Holland, carrying with him all the papers that in any manner related to the object of his miſſion, and particularly the proviſional commercial articles ſettled between William Lee and John de Neufville. But the veſſel was taken on her paſſage to Europe, and with her Mr. Laurens and his papers; the box containing them, which had been thrown overboard, having been prevented from ſinking by the alertneſs of a Britiſh ſeaman.

Mr. Laurens's papers having furniſhed the Britiſh miniſtry with full evidence of what they had long before ſuſpected, the unfriendly diſpoſition of the Dutch, their connexion with the revolted colonies, and the underhand practices of the penſionary Van Berkel to make that connexion ſtill cloſer; they determined to demand inſtant ſatisfaction for the injury. For that purpoſe the papers, which afforded the evidence, were tranſmitted to the Britiſh ambaſſador at the Hague, who was inſtructed to preſent a memorial to the States General, requiring them to diſavow the proceedings of the penſionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, and to inflict upon them a puniſhment ſuitable to the magnitude of their offence: He was further enjoined to declare, that, if ſatisfaction in theſe reſpects ſhould be either refuſed or delayed, the States General would be conſidered as making themſelves parties to the injury, and ſuch meaſures be purſued as the law of nations authoriſed for compelling a reparation of the wrong. The memorial was accordingly preſented; and no ſatisfactory anſwer being returned by the States General within the time expected, the Britiſh ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague, and on the twentieth of December, letters of repriſal were ordered to be iſſued againſt the Dutch. In the mean time Mr. Laurens, after an examination before the ſecretaries of ſtate, was committed on a charge of high treaſon a cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London.

War on the part of Great Britain againſt the Dutch.

CHAP. XXXIX.

French Attempt on the Iſland of Jerſey—Defeated—Naval Exertions of both France and Britain—Relief of Gibraltar—Capture of the Dutch Iſland St. Euſtatius—And of Demarary and Iſſequibo, Dutch Settlements on the Spaniſh Main—Fruitleſs Attempt of the French on St. Lucie—The Iſland of Tobago ſurrendered to the French.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1781.

HOSTILITIES againſt the Dutch began on the part of Great Britain by the detention of ſuch of their veſſels as were in Britiſh harbours, until it ſhould be known in what manner Britiſh veſſels were treated in their ports. The rich harveſt expected from the capture of the Dutch merchantmen excited a freſh ſpirit of enterpriſe amongſt the Britiſh ſhip-owners: Numerous privateers were fitted out; and in a ſhort time their trade was greatly annoyed. Meaſures were alſo taken, and orders ſent to the Britiſh commanders abroad, for ſeizing their foreign poſſeſſions: And ſo valuable did the Dutch commerce appear in every quarter, that the policy of the Britiſh miniſtry, in peremptorily requiring them to fulfil their engagements, and ſhew themſelves either ſincere and uſeful allies, or open and avowed enemies, ſeemed fully juſtified.

French attempt on the iſland of Jerſey,

The French began the year 1781, with renewing their attempt upon the iſland of Jerſey, in which they had failed two years before. The command of the expedition was given to the baron de Rullicourt, an officer of courage; but of a temper hot, intractable, violent, and ferocious. About two thouſand men were aſſigned for the ſervice: And with theſe embarked in tranſports he ſailed from the coaſt

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January.

of France, in dark and ſtormy weather, hoping thereby more completely to ſurpriſe the iſland. Nearly one half of the tranſports were obliged to put back in diſtreſs to the coaſt of France; but with the reſt the baron perſiſted in his deſign, and having paſſed the dangerous ſhoals of La Roque Platte, where ſeveral of his veſſels were wrecked, and a number of his troops loſt, he landed unperceived in the night of the ſixth of January, with eight hundred men, at a place called the Baue de Violet. From thence he marched during the night to St. Helier's, the capital of the iſland, and early in the morning ſeizing the avenues, was in poſſeſſion of the town before the inhabitants were aware of his landing. Not long after the French reached St. Helier's, major Corbet, the lieutenant-governor, was made a priſoner; but not, it ſeems, till he had an opportunity of diſpatching meſſengers to give the alarm at the other ſtations occupied by the troops aſſigned for the defence of the iſland. The lieutenant-governor being a priſoner, the baron de Rullicourt required him to ſign a capitulation for the ſurrender of the iſland, threatening, if he refuſed, to reduce the town of St. Helier's to aſhes, and put the inhabitants to the ſword. To avoid ſuch dreadful conſequences, major Corbet too eaſily thought fit to comply, after having in vain repreſented, that no act done by him whilſt a priſoner could be binding, either upon the troops or inhabitants. Elizabeth Caſtle was then ſummoned to ſurrender under the terms of the capitulation; but captain Aylward, who commanded, aſſiſted by captain Mulcaſter, of the engineers, peremptorily refuſed: And the French, who had advanced to the gate, placing the lieutenant-governor in their front, were fired upon and compelled to retire.

In the mean time major Pierſon, upon whom the command of the troops devolved, after the lieutenant-governor became a priſoner, having collected them from their different ſtations, and aſſembled as many of the militia as could be got together, advanced againſt the town.

town, and ſeized the heights adjoining to it. Whilſt he lay in this ſituation he received a ſummons to ſurrender, agreeably to the capitulation; to which he gallantly anſwered, that unleſs the French themſelves laid down their arms, and ſurrendered within twenty minutes, they might expect to be attacked. An able diſpoſition of his troops was accordingly made; and at the end of that time, the town being aſſaulted on all ſides, the French were ſo fiercely charged, that they retreated from every quarter to the market-place. Here, their force being concentered, the action was renewed with freſh vigour under the eye of their general, who, diveſting himſelf of the magnanimity attached to the character of an officer, and even of the feelings belonging to a man, kept by his ſide the lieutenant-governor during the heat of the battle, expoſing him, although a priſoner, to the fire of the Britiſh troops. But at length, the baron de Rullicourt received a mortal wound: When the ſecond in command, ſeeing his troops unable any longer to withſtand the impetuoſity of the aſſailants, and his own ſituation hopeleſs, requeſted the lieutenant-governor to reſume his authority, and accept the ſubmiſſion of him and his troops as priſoners of war. In the attack of St. Helier's, the loſs of the aſſailants was not ſo great as might have been expected: Of the Britiſh regulars twelve only were killed, and thirty-ſix wounded; and of the militia four were killed, and twenty-nine wounded. But the death of the brave major Pierſon, who fell at the end of the action and in the moment of complete victory, filled every one with regret. To his gallantry and good conduct, and to the brave exertions of the officers and troops under him, his country was indebted on the preſent occaſion for the ſafety of Jerſey. Although moſt of the troops were new levies, they fought with the firmneſs of veterans: And the loſs ſuſtained by the militia ſhews that they were entitled to a full ſhare of merit for the ſucceſs of the day. Of the enemy not one eſcaped, all who ſurvived the action being made pri-

defeated.

ſoners of war. In this manner ended the ſecond expedition undertaken by the French againſt the iſland of Jerſey, under all its circumſtances more diſaſtrous to them than the firſt.

Naval exertions of both France and Britain.

In the mean time they were ſtraining every nerve to place their marine upon a more reſpectable footing, and to fit out ſuch a fleet as might give them a decided ſuperiority in the Weſt Indies during the following ſummer: Whilſt the Britiſh miniſtry on the other hand exerted themſelves not leſs ſtrenuouſly, to equip ſuch a force as might be adequate to the various ſervices which the war in its extenſion required them to provide for. That which was the moſt preſſing, and demanded their immediate attention, was the relief of the garriſon of Gibraltar, more endangered by the want of ſupplies, in conſequence of the blockade, than by the tremendous fire from the enemy's batteries. Gibraltar having received no ſupplies ſince thoſe conveyed by ſir George Rodney in the beginning of the preceding year, both the garriſon and inhabitants were at this time in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. The allowance to the garriſon had been reduced to a pound and a half in the week of ſalted meat for each man, which at length became ſo bad as to be ſcarcely eatable. Freſh proviſions, when they could be procured, ſold at the moſt enormous prices: Pigs at two guineas, turkies at three, geeſe at thirty ſhillings, fowls and ducks at ten ſhillings, damaged biſcuit at a ſhilling the pound, peaſe at eighteen-pence; and all other neceſſaries in proportion. Fuel was ſo ſcarce, that it was with difficulty enough was found for dreſſing their victuals. Theſe diſtreſſes were known in England: The neceſſity of attempting to relieve the garriſon was of courſe urgent; but the difficulty of accompliſhing it was great. The Spaniſh fleet, under Don Louis de Cordova, had orders to cruiſe upon the coaſt of Portugal, and was repreſented to conſiſt of thirty ſhips of the line: A French fleet, not much inferior, was almoſt in readineſs to put to ſea from Breſt; and all the force, which the Britiſh miniſtry could ſpare from other ſervices for the relief of Gibraltar, conſiſted only of twenty-eight ſhips of the line. Theſe, however, were commanded by the admirals Darby, Digby, and Roſs, all of them officers of great profeſſional reputation. With this fleet admiral Darby ſailed from Portſmouth on the thirteenth of March, taking under his convoy the trade bound to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and having touched at Cork to receive the tranſports with proviſions, and afterwards conducted the outward-bound trade as far as was thought neceſſary, he left them to purſue their voyage, and ſteered directly for the bay of Cadiz; into the harbour of which Don Louis de Cordova, upon receiving intelligence of admiral Darby's approach, had thought fit to retire with the Spaniſh fleet, without daring to riſque an engagement. Whilſt admiral Darby cruiſed off Cadiz and the mouth of the Straits, keeping the Spaniſh fleet in port, the tranſports with the proviſions and ſtores proceeded to the place of their deſtination, under the convoy of the diviſion of the Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral ſir John Lockhart Roſs: And thus, to the utter mortification of Spain, Gibraltar was a ſecond time relieved, and ſupplied with every thing neceſſary for ſuſtaining the ſiege.

Relief of Gibraltar.

Whilſt the Britiſh fleet was abſent on this ſervice, that of France deſtined for the Weſt India ſtation, and conſiſting of twenty-one ſhips of the line, ſailed from Breſt under the command of the count de Graſſe. The French poſſeſſions in that quarter, from the inferiority of the ſquadron left for their protection by the count de Guichen when he returned to France at the end of the preceding ſummer, had been expoſed to the attempts of the Britiſh commanders during the winter, and probably ſome of them owed their ſafety to the war with Holland. Sir George Rodney, after remaining at New York until the hurricane ſeaſon was over, returned to the Weſt Indies towards the cloſe of the former year, and in conjunction with general Vaughan was meditating a deſcent upon ſome of the French iſlands, when he received information of the rupture with the Dutch, and inſtructions to commence hoſtilities againſt their Weſt India poſſeſſions. Of theſe the little iſland of St. Euſtatius claimed the firſt attention, not from its intrinſic value, but as being a general depot of merchandiſe, from whence not only the American colonies, but the French iſlands alſo, derived conſiderable ſupplies: And it was the more obnoxious to Britiſh vengeance, that the commerce between it and the American colonies, connived at by the States General, was the original cauſe of difference between the two nations, which at laſt produced an open rupture. Of ſmall extent, of barren ſoil, and without any native productions of value, the iſland of St. Euſtatius was of no importance, except from its commerce. Being a free port, it was inhabited by people of all nations, who reſorted thither for the ſake of carrying on commerce with their reſpective countries; and during the preſent war, from the great demands for merchandiſe of all kinds in America, the trade of the iſland had increaſed to an amazing extent. So conſiderable was the importation of merchandiſe into St. Euſtatius, that the bulkier articles, for want of room in the warehouſes, lay in the ſtreets. The whole iſland was a kind of natural fortification, with only one convenient landing-place; but nothing had been done towards improving thoſe defenſive advantages, nor was it even provided with any thing like a ſufficient garriſon. Such was the ſituation of St. Euſtatius, when ſir George Rodney and general Vaughan, on the third of February, appeared before it with a force of ſhips and troops more proportioned to the importance than to the difficulty of the acquiſition. A ſummons was immediately ſent to the governor, requiring him to ſurrender the iſland; with which, knowing its defenceleſs ſtate, and his utter inability to make any effectual reſiſtance, he thought it prudent without delay to comply: And thus the iſland of St. Euſtatius, with all its

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its ſtores of merchandiſe, was ſurrendered at diſcretion to the Britiſh navy and army. The value of the merchandiſe thus ſurrendered was ſuppoſed to amount to four millions; and whatever parts of it belonged to the Dutch, the French, or the Americans, unqueſtionably became lawful prize to the captors. But ſeveral Britiſh agents having ſettled there for the purpoſe, as they pretended, of purchaſing American produce under the implied ſanction of an act of parliament, it became a queſtion, whether the property of ſuch perſons, conſidered as inhabitants of St. Euſtatius, was or was not ſubject to confiſcation. Perhaps ſome diſtinction ought to have been made between thoſe Britiſh agents, who had *bona fide* ſettled in St. Euſtatius for the purpoſe aforeſaid, and thoſe who were alſo concerned in carrying on an illegal intercourſe, either with the revolted ſubjects of Great Britain, or her open and avowed enemies; and poſſibly it was not an eaſy matter to make the proper diſcrimination. However this might be, the proceedings of the Britiſh commanders with reſpect to the property of ſuch perſons, became afterwards the ſubject of much controverſy in the courts of law, and of great vexation to the captors themſelves, in conſequence of the oppoſite deciſions given by ſome of the tribunals before whom the St. Euſtatius prize cauſes were ſucceſſively carried.

A Dutch frigate of thirty-ſix guns, five ſhips of war of inferior force, and more than one hundred and fifty ſail of merchantmen, were taken in the bay; and a fleet of thirty ſhips richly laden, which had ſailed from St. Euſtatius for Holland two days before its capture, were purſued, overtaken, and brought back, together with their convoy, a ſhip of ſixty guns, commanded by an admiral. The ſurrender of St. Euſtatius was followed by that of the iſlands of St. Martin and Saba in its vicinity; and the Dutch colours having been kept flying upon the forts of the captured iſlands for ſome time after the ſurrender, a number of French, American, and Dutch veſſels were decoyed by the ſnare, and became an eaſy prey to the new poſſeſſors.

After the capture of St. Euſtatius, general Cunningham, governor of Barbadoes, ſent a ſummons, by captain Pender, of his majeſty's ſloop Barbuda, to the inhabitants of the Dutch ſettlements upon the Spaniſh main bordering on the river Demarary and Iſſequibo, informing them of that event, and requiring them to ſurrender to his majeſty's arms. Theſe were new ſettlements, but from the richneſs of their ſoil of great future expectation. Being totally unprovided for defence, the inhabitants, in anſwer to the ſummons, ſent a deputation to governor Cunningham, with an offer to ſurrender upon the ſuppoſed terms granted to St. Euſtatius. In the mean time a ſquadron of Britiſh privateers, chiefly belonging to the port of Briſtol, upon hearing of the Dutch war, united their force, and boldly entering the rivers Demarary and Iſſequibo, cut out even from under the Dutch forts and batteries, and brought off, almoſt all the Dutch ſhips of value in either river. The deputies ſent from theſe ſettlements to governor Cunningham, of Barbadoes, were by him referred to ſir George Rodney and general Vaughan at St. Euſtatius, who diſdaining to take any advantage of the improvident offer of the inhabitants to ſhare the ſame fate as the people of St. Euſtatius, and thinking that a line of diſtinction ought to be drawn between the inhabitants of thoſe Dutch colonies, who, previouſly to the commencement of hoſtilities againſt Holland, had openly aſſiſted the enemies of Great Britain, in violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two nations, and ſuch as, occupied in their own domeſtic affairs, had given no ſuch provocation, granted to the deputies, terms of capitulation ſufficiently liberal, by which the inhabitants of thoſe ſettlements were ſecured in the full poſſeſſion of their civil government and private property.

and of Demarary and Iſſequibo, Dutch ſettlements on the Spaniſh main.

Whilſt ſir George Rodney remained at St. Euſtatius, and before he had finiſhed the variety of buſineſs in which he was involved, by the capture of that iſland, the diſpoſal of the merchandiſe found in it, and the claims of the Britiſh merchants, advice was brought to him of the ſailing of count de Graſſe from Breſt, with the French fleet deſtined for the Weſt Indies. Upon receiving this intelligence, ſir Samuel Hood and rear-admiral Drake were immediately diſpatched to windward with eighteen ſhips of the line, to endeavour to intercept and bring the count de Graſſe to action, before his force was increaſed by the junction of the French ſquadron already at Martinique. April. Theſe admirals accordingly proceeded to Fort Royal Bay, off which they cruized until the twenty-eighth of April, when the advanced ſhips announced by ſignal the approach of the French fleet. A general chaſe to windward was immediately ordered, and the line of battle a-head formed, which was continued during the whole night, in order more effectually to cut off the French fleet from the harbour of Fort Royal. In the morning the French fleet was ſtill to windward, and the convoy cloſe in with the land: It was of courſe in the power of the count de Graſſe, by bearing down, to engage when he pleaſed; but he kept at a diſtance, and avoided an engagement. Every exertion was made by the Britiſh commanders to bring him to action, and in the courſe of the various evolutions practiſed by them with this intention, the French ſquadron in Fort Royal Bay unfortunately found an opportunity of coming out and joining their admiral. By the junction, he acquired a ſuperiority of force over the Britiſh fleet, in the proportion of twenty-four to eighteen, but ſtill avoided a cloſe engagement. The endeavours of the Britiſh commanders to come up with him were nevertheleſs unremittingly continued; and they ſo far ſucceeded, as to bring on a partial action. Only the van and ſome ſhips of the centre of the Britiſh fleet could get near enough to engage; and in their ſtruggles to cloſe with the enemy, they were for a conſiderable time expoſed to a great ſuperiority of fire, and ſuſtained much damage. The loſs of men was not great; but at the end of the engagement, which laſted about three hours, the Ruſſel was found to have received ſo many ſhots between wind and water, that ſhe was obliged to bear away for the iſland of St. Euſtatius to refit: Four other ſhips were alſo much diſabled. The enemy did not eſcape without damage; but their ſuperiority of force ſtill remained. The next morning ſir Samuel Hood endeavoured to gain the wind of the enemy, that he might engage with leſs diſadvantage; but it was to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding all his efforts ineffectual, and ſeveral of his ſhips ſo crippled as to be unfit for immediate action, he bore away for Antigua to get them refitted, and was followed by the count de Graſſe, with the whole French fleet. The next day ſome ſhips in the rear of the Britiſh fleet being in danger of being cut off, ſir Samuel Hood bore down with the van and centre for their protection, and made ſo reſolute a ſtand, that the count de Graſſe, notwithſtanding his great ſuperiority, did not dare to perſiſt in the attempt; but ſoon afterwards gave over the purſuit, and returned to Martinique.

Whilſt the Britiſh fleet proceeded to Antigua to refit, an attempt was made by the French to regain poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. Lucie. In the night between the tenth and eleventh of May, a force from Martinique, commanded by the viſcount Damas, acting under the orders of the marquis de Bouillé, who accompanied him, landed upon the iſland in three different places, and early the next morning ſurpriſed the town of Gros Iſlet, and made priſoners ſome ſick of the forty-ſixth regiment that were in the hoſpital. Pigeon Iſland, which commanded the anchorage-ground in Gros Iſlet Bay, and was garriſoned by a company of the eighty-ſeventh regiment, under the command of captain Campbell, and ſome ſeamen under the direction of lieutenant

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lieutenant Miller, of the navy, was immediately ſummoned to ſurrender, with a threat, that the garriſon, in caſe of refuſal, might expect to ſuffer all the ſeverities authoriſed by the laws of war: But captain Campbell, the commanding officer, bravely bid defiance to the enemy, and reſolved to defend his poſt to the laſt extremity. On the day after the landing of the troops, the count de Graſſe appeared with twenty-five ſhips of the line, and ſtood in for Gros Iſlet Bay, as if with intention to anchor; but was ſoon obliged to alter his deſign, and fall to leeward, in conſequence of a well-directed fire from the batteries on Pigeon Iſland. In the mean time general St. Leger, who commanded at St. Lucie, had made a moſt judicious diſpoſition of his little force for the defence of the iſland: And the fortunate arrival of a frigate and two ſloops of war, ſupplied him with a reinforcement of ſeamen to aſſiſt in manning the batteries. So determined an appearance of reſiſtance entirely diſconcerted the views of the French commanders, who had expected an eaſy conqueſt. The enterpriſe was in conſequence abandoned: Their troops were re-embarked in the night: And the next morning their whole fleet returned to Martinique.

Fruitleſs attempt of the French on St. Lucie.

This fruitleſs attempt upon St. Lucie was followed by another againſt the iſland of Tobago, which proved more ſucceſsful. A ſmall ſquadron of ſhips from Martinique appeared before it on the twenty-third of May, having on board twelve hundred troops, under the command of the ſieur Blanchelande, governor of St. Vincent's, who effected a landing the next day. The whole force that could be collected for the defence of the iſland, did not exceed five hundred men of all denominations, including regulars, militia, and ſome armed negroes. With theſe governor Ferguſon took a ſtrong poſition on Mount Concordia, having firſt diſpatched an advice-boat to Barbadoes, with intelligence of the attack. Mount Concordia was an eligible ſituation, becauſe from thence both ſides of the iſland might

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might be diſtinctly ſeen; and in this poſition the governor, and major Stanhope, who commanded the regular troops, defended themſelves until the firſt of June. Immediately after the landing of the French troops, a ſummons was ſent to the governor to ſurrender the iſland, and an offer was made to grant the moſt favourable terms; but both were inſtantly rejected. Threats were then made, that unleſs the militia returned to their homes, their plantations would be burnt: But theſe alſo were diſregarded. The ſieur Blanchelande, ſeeing ſuch a ſhew of reſiſtance, diſpatched a veſſel to Martinique, requeſting a reinforcement. His requeſt was inſtantly complied with: And a powerful reinforcement, commanded by the marquis de Bouillé in perſon, and accompanied by the count de Graſſe, with the whole French fleet of twenty-five ſhips of the line, arrived at Tobago on the thirty-firſt of May. Upon the arrival of the French fleet with this reinforcement, a council of war was held between the governor and his garriſon: And the engineers being of opinion that Mount Concordia was no longer tenable againſt ſo ſuperior force, a reſolution was unanimouſly taken to retreat to a ſtill ſtronger poſition upon the main ridge, the approach to which was by a road of ſome miles in length, ſo narrow that two men could not walk abreaſt, and inacceſſible on each ſide by impenetrable foreſts. In purſuance of this reſolution the garriſon left Mount Concordia at one in the morning of the firſt of June, unperceived by the enemy, and without moleſtation reached the defile leading to the main ridge before eight.

No movement perhaps was ever more critically executed, preparations having been made by the enemy for ſtorming the Britiſh lines at Mount Concordia on the ſame morning on which the garriſon had evacuated them. And as the marquis de Bouillé, in conſequence of the great ſuperiority of his force, entertained no doubt of the ſucceſs of the attack; ſo his diſappointment was extreme, upon finding that

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that the garriſon had eſcaped to an inacceſſible part of the iſland, where his own numbers could not avail, and where they might defend themſelves with eaſe againſt any force, ſo long as their proviſions laſted. His chagrin on this occaſion ſeems to have betrayed him into unuſual acts of ſeverity, inconſiſtent with his former character for lenity and moderation. Fearful leſt the garriſon ſhould hold out until the arrival of the Britiſh fleet, which might fruſtrate the whole expedition, he began to execute the threats made by the ſieur Blanchelande. Two of the neareſt plantations were immediately ſet on fire: An order was iſſued to burn four more within the ſpace of four hours; and a flag of truce was ſent to acquaint the governor and inhabitants, that the like execution would be repeated every four hours, until the iſland ſhould be ſurrendered.

Theſe ruinous devaſtations overcame the firmneſs of the militia. To ſave their property, they determined to capitulate; and in this determination they were joined by the commanding officer of the troops. It was in vain that the governor repreſented the natural ſtrength of the poſt which they now occupied, and urged them to perſiſt in the defence of the iſland until the Britiſh fleet ſhould come to their relief. They had already held out for more than a week againſt a very ſuperior force, in daily expectation of relief: They had alſo by this time received information that a reinforcement coming to their aſſiſtance had been obliged to put back on account of the arrival of the French fleet. They deſpaired of further relief; and they ſaw their habitations in flames. Under ſuch circumſtances no remonſtrances of the governor could prevail; and in order to obtain better terms for the inhabitants, he was at laſt obliged to yield, and join in a meaſure which he could no longer prevent. A treaty for a capitulation was entered upon, and terms were obtained for the inhabitants, not leſs beneficial than thoſe granted to the inhabitants of Dominica. The difference of opinion, that had taken place between the

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The iſland of Tobago ſurrendered to the French.

the governor and the commanding officer of the troops, was the cauſe of their acting ſeparately in the treaty opened with the marquis de Bouillé; the terms which reſpected the inhabitants being ſettled by the governor with their concurrence, and thoſe regarding the regular troops by major Stanhope, without the participation of the governor.

In the mean time the ſhips of the Britiſh fleet, that had been diſabled in the late actions between vice-admiral ſir Samuel Hood and the count de Graſſe, having been repaired, and ſir George Rodney having as expeditiouſly as poſſible joined the vice-admiral with ſuch ſhips as had remained with him at St. Euſtatius, the whole fleet, then amounting to twenty ſhips of the line, proceeded under his command to Barbadoes, where it arrived on the twenty-third of May, the ſame day on which the French armament had firſt appeared off Tobago. Governor Ferguſon's diſpatch-boat with advice of that armament, and the attack on Tobago, reached Barbadoes early in the morning of the twenty-ſeventh; and on the following day, admiral Drake was diſpatched to its relief, with ſix ſhips of the line, three frigates, and ſome tranſports, having on board the ſixty-ninth regiment, and two companies of other regiments, under the command of brigadier-general Skeene. This was the reinforcement of which the governor and inhabitants of Tobago had received intelligence: But the previous arrival of the whole French fleet prevented it from landing. As ſoon as admiral Drake diſcovered the enemy's fleet lying between him and the iſland, he returned to Barbadoes, in purſuance of his orders, not to riſque his ſquadron againſt a ſuperior force. Sir George Rodney now put to ſea with the whole fleet; but before he reached Tobago, the iſland had ſurrendered.

A train of unfortunate circumſtances ſeems to have led to this event. The iſland might probably have been ſaved, had ſir George Rodney ſailed with his whole fleet to its relief as ſoon as he was apprized

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prized of its danger, inſtead of ſending only a ſquadron of ſhips with a reinforcement. The previous intelligence conveyed to the inhabitants, that admiral Drake was on his paſſage with this reinforcement, rendered the diſappointment greater, when they found that he was obliged to put back, and, added to the burning of their plantations, threw them into a ſtate of deſpair. But even after all thoſe unlucky circumſtances, had there been a more cordial co-operation between the governor and the commander of the troops, it is poſſible that the militia, after the exertions already made by them, might have been prevailed upon to hold out longer: Or even if the militia were determined in all events to ſurrender, ſuch was the nature of the defile, according to governor Ferguſon's deſcription, that the regulars themſelves might have defended it againſt any force, until the arrival of ſir George Rodney. On the ſecond of June, the capitulation for Tobago was ſigned; and on the fourth ſir George Rodney with the Britiſh fleet appeared in ſight of it.

The Britiſh admiral, after receiving intelligence of the ſurrender, ſtood to the northward, and on the fifth of June came in ſight of the French fleet lying to leeward between him and the Grenadilles. Towards the evening the two fleets, ſteering both the ſame courſe, approached each other. Sir George Rodney, however, although to windward, did not think fit to bear down upon the enemy, leſt he ſhould have got entangled amongſt the iſlands of the Grenadilles, and by the currents been driven to leeward into the channel between Grenada and the Spaniſh main; whilſt the French fleet could ſhelter itſelf in the harbours and under the batteries of that iſland, and thus gaining a windward ſituation, endanger the ſafety of Barbadoes before the Britiſh fleet could beat up to its aſſiſtance. But, as he truſted that the French, from their ſuperiority, might be induced to follow him, and thus be led into a track where there would be more ſea-room and leſs danger of being driven to leeward, he kept on his

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courſe to windward of St. Vincent's, and gave orders for all the lights of his fleet to be made as conſpicuous as poſſible during the night, that the enemy, if they were diſpoſed to engage, might know that their wiſhes in the morning would not be diſappointed: In the morning, however, the enemy's fleet was not to be ſeen. In the night it had tacked and ſteered for Courland Bay, in Tobago; and during the remainder of the ſummer, the count de Graſſe, notwithſtanding his ſuperiority of five ſhips of the line, cautiouſly avoided to riſque a general engagement.

CHAP. XL.

Reduction of Penſacola by the Spaniards—The combined Fleets of France and Spain, to the Amount of ſeventy Sail, threaten Deſtruction to the marine Force of England—The Britiſh Admiral, with twenty-one Ships of the Line, prudently retires into Torbay—where the Enemy do not think it adviſable to attack him—Cauſes why the Combined Fleets enjoyed a temporary Superiority over that of Great Britain—Action between a Britiſh and a Dutch Fleet, near the Dogger Bank—Britiſh Armament ſent againſt the Dutch Settlement at the Cape of Good Hope—attacked by the French Admiral Suffrein—The Dutch Garriſon at the Cape reinforced by the French—Commodore Johnſtone makes Prizes of four Dutch Eaſt Indiamen—The Britiſh Armament under General Meadows ſails for the Eaſt Indies—Invaſion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally—Defeat and Diſaſter of a Britiſh Detachment under Colonel Baillie—Ravages committed in the Carnatic by Hyder Ally—The Command of the Britiſh Army in the Preſidency of Madras committed to Sir Eyre Coote—Operations of the Britiſh Fleet in India.

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WHILST the French were thus availing themſelves of the embarraſſed ſtate of Great Britain, to wreſt from her her Weſt-India iſlands, the Spaniards were employed upon the continent of America, in recovering the poſſeſſions which had been taken from them in the former war. In each of the two preceding years, as we have already ſeen, they had conquered a part of Weſt Florida; and in the preſent year the conqueſt of the whole province was atchieved

Reduction of Penſacola by the Spaniards.

chieved by the reduction of Penſacola. Don Bernardo de Galvez, intent on making this conqueſt, went from New Orleans to the Havannah, in the fall of the preceding year, to ſolicit a force that might be adequate to the purpoſe. In conſequence of his repreſentations the expedition was undertaken, but the firſt fleet that ſailed was diſperſed by a ſtorm, ſome of the ſhips loſt, and the reſt obliged to return in diſtreſs. The perſeverance of Don Bernardo de Galvez was however not to be conquered. Another armament was got ready with all expedition. A land-force, amounting to five or ſix thouſand men, with a large train of artillery, was embarked on board tranſports; and the whole, under the convoy of ſome ſhips of war, having ſailed from the Havannah in the month of February, arrived in ſafety off the bar of Penſacola on the ninth of March.

General Campbell ſtill commanded the Britiſh troops in Weſt Florida: But, reduced as they had been by the capture of lieutenant-colonel Dickſon's detachment on the Miſſiſſippi, and the garriſon under captain Durnford at Mobille, they did not at this time exceed nine hundred and fifty men, conſiſting of Britiſh regulars, German auxiliaries, part of two provincial regiments, and ſome militia.

Notwithſtanding the great diſparity of force between the beſiegers and the garriſon, the Spaniſh general thought fit to ſend for a reinforcement. In the mean time the troops that he had with him were landed, and the Britiſh works at Penſacola regularly inveſted. After ſome time the expected ſuccours arrived, part of the Spaniſh garriſon of Mobille having marched acroſs the country to join in the ſiege, and a fleet of fifteen ſhips of the line, under the command of Don Solano, having arrived from the Havannah, with an additional land force of three thouſand men. Although the defence made by the garriſon was brave and ſpirited, and the progreſs of the beſiegers hitherto proportionably ſlow; it was apparent, from the force with which it was inveſted, that the place muſt ultimately fall:

But

CHAP. XL. 1781.

But its fate was unexpectedly precipitated by the baſeneſs and perfidy of a traitor. A man of the name of Cannon, formerly an officer in one of the provincial regiments in garriſon at Penſacola, had been broke the year before by a court-martial for ungentlemanlike behaviour, and retired to the Creek country among the Indians, whence he returned as ſoon as he heard of the landing of the Spaniards, and joined them on the fifth of April. By him they were made minutely acquainted with the ſtate and ſituation of all the Britiſh works, and were thus enabled to direct their fire towards thoſe quarters where it was likely to produce the greateſt effect. Indefatigable in his traiterous purpoſe, he uſed to climb to the top of a tall pine-tree, commanding a view of the Britiſh works, from whence he was enabled to inform the Spaniſh bombardiers where the ſhells diſcharged from their mortars took effect, and whether near or at a diſtance from the Britiſh magazines. Thus inſtructed, and improved by repeated trials, they acquired ſuch a knowledge as at length enabled them to do fatal execution. On the morning of the eighth of May, a ſhell burſting at the door of a magazine in one of the advanced works, ſet fire to the powder within, which in an inſtant reduced the whole redoubt to a heap of rubbiſh. By the exploſion ſeventy-ſix of the garriſon loſt their lives, and twenty-four were badly wounded. The enemy immediately advanced to take advantage of the confuſion; but were repulſed in their firſt attempt by the fire from two flank works, which had been added to the redoubt after the commencement of the ſiege, and which fortunately were not injured by the blowing-up of the magazine. This repulſe procured a ſhort reſpite to the garriſon, during which thoſe who had been wounded by the exploſion were carried off, ſome of the cannon removed from the flank works, which it was now judged neceſſary to evacuate, and the reſt ſpiked up. The enemy, however, again advanced in greater force, and under cover of the flank works, which had been abandoned, kept up ſo hot a ſire of muſquetry upon another redoubt, that the men could no longer ſtand to their guns. There was alſo, it ſeems, a ſcarcity of ordnance ſhot in the garriſon, from the great number that had been already expended. Under theſe circumſtances general Campbell thought fit to capitulate; and thus the province of Weſt Florida was once more re-annexed to the Spaniſh dominions.

In theſe military operations abroad the French and Spaniards acted ſeparately, but in Europe they undertook a joint expedition againſt the iſland of Minorca. The plan of the expedition had been laid in the beginning of the year; but the neceſſary preparations delayed the execution of it until the middle of ſummer. After the return of the Britiſh fleet from conveying ſupplies to Gibraltar, and whilſt it cruized near our own coaſts, for the protection of the homeward-bound trade, a French fleet of eighteen ſhips of the line ſailed from Breſt towards the end of June, and in the following month joined the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz. At Cadiz was prepared the principal armament deſtined againſt Minorca: It conſiſted of ten thouſand men, with a ſuitable train of artillery, and was commanded by the duke de Crillon, a French general of great reputation. When every thing was in readineſs, the armament ſailed about the end of July, under the convoy of the combined fleets, and being accompanied by them as far as any danger was to be apprehended, arrived in ſafety at Minorca. On the twentieth of Auguſt the Spaniſh troops were landed, and being ſoon afterwards joined by ſix thouſand French from Toulon, St. Philip's Caſtle, the principal fortreſs of the iſland, was regularly inveſted: But, as the duration of the ſiege was protracted, in conſequence of the brave defence made by the garriſon, until the month of February 1782, the account of its progreſs and termination will more properly belong to the tranſactions of that year.

CHAP. XL.

1781.

The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the amount of ſeventy ſail, threaten deſtruction to the marine force of England.

The combined fleets having convoyed the armament againſt Minorca as far as the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and ſeen it ſafely into the Mediterranean, altered their courſe, and ſailed for the coaſt of England, with orders to fight the Britiſh fleet. Arriving off the mouth of the channel, they extended themſelves in a line acroſs it from the iſlands of Scilly to Uſhant, amounting in all to ſeventy ſail, fifty of them being of the line, and ſome of theſe of the largeſt rate. The attention of all Europe was again directed to the operations of ſo powerful a fleet, and the deſtruction of the marine force of England was confidently expected: But the race is not always to the ſwift, nor the battle to the ſtrong. Admiral Darby, who was then cruizing in the channel, with only twenty-one ſhips of the line, having fortunately met with a neutral veſſel that had paſſed through the combined fleets a few days before, received from her information of their approach, as well as of their great ſtrength, and prudently withdrew into Torbay, to wait for a reinforcement. In this ſituation the enemy, vaſt as their ſuperiority was, and although their orders were to fight, did not dare to attack him. The count de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet, and Don Vincent de Dos, the ſecond in command of the Spaniſh fleet, were eager to make the attempt, but in a council of war, held for deliberating on the ſubject, their opinions were over-ruled by a great majority. The deſign of attacking admiral Darby in Torbay being given up, the commanders of the combined fleets next turned their whole attention to intercepting the homeward-bound Britiſh trade, but met with no ſucceſs. The crews of their ſhips being ſickly, and their ſhips themſelves in bad condition, the ſtormy month of September quickly obliged them to put an end to their cruize. Early in that month they ſeparated, the fleet of France ſteering for Breſt, and that of Spain for Cadiz, where they ſeverally arrived much ſhattered and diſabled. In the mean time great apprehenſions were entertained in England for the ſafety

The Britiſh admiral, with twenty-one ſhips of the line, prudently retires into Torbay,

where the enemy do not think is adviſable to attack him.

ſafety of the homeward-bound convoys, more eſpecially as admiral Darby was prevented from ſailing by contrary winds, for ſome time after he received his reinforcements: But fortunately none of the merchant fleets that were expected, arrived upon the coaſt until after the combined fleets had ſeparated and returned to port; and by the time of their arrival, admiral Darby, with thirty ſhips of the line, was at ſea for their protection.

Cauſes why the combined fleets enjoyed a temporary ſuperiority over that of Great Britain.

By the various ſervices, upon which, in conſequence of the extenſion of the war, it became neceſſary to employ ſeparate ſquadrons, the grand channel fleet was unavoidably weakened; and the combined fleets thereby obtained a more conſiderable temporary ſuperiority. The war with Holland required that a ſquadron ſhould be ſent into the north ſea, as well for the ſafety of the Britiſh trade to the Baltic, as for the obſtruction of that of the Dutch. This ſquadron conſiſted of an old eighty-gun ſhip, that carried no heavier metal than a fifty, an old ſixty-gun ſhip that had been diſcharged, but was lately refitted for ſervice, two ſeventy-fours, a ſixty-four, a fifty, a forty-four, and four frigates; and the command of it was given to admiral Hyde Parker, a veteran officer of diſtinguiſhed bravery. Their Baltic trade being of the utmoſt importance to the Dutch, they ſtrained every nerve to fit out a ſtrong ſquadron for its protection, which, when it went to ſea, conſiſted of eight ſhips of the line, and ten large frigates, under the command of admiral Zouttman. It ſo happened, that whilſt admiral Parker was on his return to England, with a large fleet under his convoy, admiral Zouttman ſailed from Holland, having under his convoy a Dutch fleet bound to the Baltic. The two ſquadrons ſailing nearly in the ſame track, and in oppoſite directions, met upon the Dogger Bank on the fifth of Auguſt; and both without delay prepared for action, after taking ſuch previous meaſures as were neceſſary for the ſafety of their reſpective convoys. One of the Dutch line-of-battle ſhips had, from ſome cauſe or other, returned into port, but a forty-four gun ſhip, carrying heavy metal, being ſubſtituted in her room, admiral Zouttman's line ſtill conſiſted of eight ſhips of two decks: That of admiral Parker conſiſted only of ſeven, and of theſe one mounted only fifty, and another forty-four, guns. His two ſmalleſt frigates were ſent off with the convoy, and the two largeſt ſtationed ſo as to be in readineſs to tow off any of the ſhips of the line that might be diſabled in the action. The Britiſh fleet being to windward, of courſe bore down upon that of admiral Zouttman, who, unlike ſome modern naval commanders, practiſed no manœuvres to avoid a deciſive engagement; but rather ſeemed to court it, and prepared to diſpute the day with his opponent by dint of hard fighting. No gun was fired on either ſide, until the two ſquadrons came ſo near as to be within half muſquet-ſhot, when admiral Parker, ranging alongſide the Dutch admiral, and the other ſhips of his ſquadron bearing down in like manner upon thoſe of the enemy that were oppoſed to them, the action began and continued with unremitting fury for three hours and a half; at the end of which both fleets were ſo diſabled, that neither of them could form the line and renew the action. They lay-to for ſome time, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, repairing their damages, when the Dutch admiral, with his convoy, bore away for the Texel; and the Britiſh fleet was ſo diſabled as not to be in a condition to purſue. Although no ſhip was taken on either ſide, this was by far the hardeſt-fought battle of any that had yet happened by ſea during the war. The obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Dutch inconteſtably proved that however much their navy, in a long courſe of peace, had been ſuffered to decline, their officers and ſeamen poſſeſſed the ſame intrepidity and deſperate valour as in the days of Van Tromp and De Ruyter: And although admiral Parker obtained no trophy of victory, the gaining an advantage, with an inferior force, over ſuch an enemy, was

Action between a Britiſh and Dutch fleet near the Dogger Bank.

1781.

was a ſufficient proof that Britiſh ſailors, when boldly led to action, without waſting their time in nautical manœuvres, ſtill ſupported their claim to that pre-eminence by ſea, which has been ſo long the pride and boaſt of the nation. That an advantage was gained by admiral Parker was very apparent, from the Dutch admiral being the firſt that bore away: The object of his ſailing was alſo completely defeated, as the convoy which he had under his charge, was obliged to put back, and could not, after the action, proceed with ſafety on their voyage. The Britiſh fleet alſo ſuffered much; and the loſs of men was great. It amounted to one hundred and four killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded, amongſt whom were a number of valuable officers. But the Dutch ſhips were ſo miſerably torn and ſhattered, that it was with difficulty moſt of them were kept above water until they reached a port; and the Hollandia, one of them, actually ſunk the night after the engagement, with all her wounded people on board. The loſs of men ſuſtained by the Dutch has never been publiſhed by authority: It was, however, known to be great, and, according to private accounts from Holland, amounted to near twelve hundred men.

Beſides the loſs of one of their capital ſhips, and the unſerviceable condition of ſome of the reſt, in conſequence of the damage ſuſtained in the action, it was a grievous mortificatton to the Dutch to ſee their Baltic convoy obliged to return, and one of the moſt beneficial branches of their commerce, for this year at leaſt, entirely interrupted. But this was not the only remaining mortification which the fortune of war in this eventful year ſubjected them to bear. For not long after the action with admiral Parker, intelligence arrived in Europe of the capture of five of their Eaſt India ſhips in Saldanha Bay, on the coaſt of Africa, by a Britiſh ſquadron under the command of commodore Johnſtone.

Previous to the commencement of the Dutch war, this ſquadron was in ſome ſtate of preparation, and is ſaid to have been deſigned to favour an inſurrection in the Spaniſh colonies of South America. And as in another part of this work the interference of foreign powers in diſputes between a ſovereign and his ſubjects has been generally condemned, and pronounced to be illegal and unwarrantable, it will be proper in this place to obſerve, that however true ſuch an aſſertion, generally taken, muſt be admitted to be, yet the conduct of the Britiſh miniſtry, had they executed the deſign here aſcribed to them, would have been fairly juſtifiable upon the ground of retaliation, after the Spaniards had taken a part in the war between Great Britain and her colonies, and actually aſſiſted the latter in their oppoſition. But this plan, which appears to have been well laid, was never carried into execution *: The rupture with Holland appears to have produced a change of the plan; and the armament was now primarily deſtined to act againſt the Dutch poſſeſſions at the Cape of Good Hope. The ſquadron conſiſted of one ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, another of ſixty-four, three fifty-gun ſhips, three frigates of thirty-two guns, two ſloops of war, two cutters, a bomb-ketch and fire-ſhip, two ordnance ſtore-ſhips, eleven tranſports, five victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen. On board the tranſports and Indiamen was diſtributed a land force conſiſting of the ſecond battalion of the forty-ſecond regiment, with Fullarton's and Humberſtone's regiments, of one thouſand men each, but all newly raiſed, four companies from other regiments, and a detachment of the royal artillery. The land force was commanded by general Meadows, who

British armament ſent againſt the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope,

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* Two new regiments, of one thouſand men each, viz. the 98th and the 100th, were completed in January 1781, by William Fullarton, Eſq. the author of the plan, the repreſentative of an ancient family of that name in Airſhire; and Mr. Makenzie Humberſtone, a young gentleman of great hopes, of the family of Seaforth.

had gallantly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, as may be ſeen in a former part of this work, in the ſuccefsful defence of the poſt of the Virgie againſt the furious attack of the count d'Eſtaing in the year 1778.

With this ſquadron, commodore Johnſtone ſailed from St. Helen's on the thirteenth of March, in company with the grand fleet under admiral Darby, when it went to the relief of Gibraltar, and proceeding on his deſtination, without any material occurrence, until he arrived at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd Iſlands, there, on the tenth of April, anchored his ſquadron in Port Praya Bay, for the purpoſe of procuring ſupplies of freſh water and proviſions. As the iſland of St. Jago belonged to the Portugueſe, a neutral nation, Praya Bay was of courſe a neutral port: And by the law of nations the ſhips and veſſels of either of the powers at war, when lying in a neutral port, are exempted from inſult or moleſtation by the others. In ſuch a ſituation no danger was apprehended, more eſpecially as an enemy's ſquadron was neither known nor ſuſpected to be in thoſe ſeas; from whence it happened that commodore Johnſtone's ſhips were ſuffered to ſpread themſelves about in the bay, without much order, and rather with a view to their own convenience in readily ſupplying their wants, whereby much time would be ſaved, than for the purpoſe of defence. In this ſtate of ſecurity they were ſuddenly attacked on the ſixteenth of April, by a ſuperior French ſquadron under monſieur de Suffrein. Although commodore Johnſtone's expedition was to be a ſecret one, it ſufficiently appears from what happened, that both the Dutch and the French had either by their ſagacity penetrated into the intention of the Britiſh miniſtry, or by their emiſſaries and ſpies diſcovered the real object of the expedition. The former, conſcious as they were of the weakneſs of the garriſon at the Cape, and ſeeing in all their extent the ruinous conſequences that would follow its capture, were nevertheleſs unable to equip a fleet in time for its protection, and in their diſtreſs applied to the

French for aſſiſtance: And the latter, in order to give an earneſt of good faith to their new aſſociates in the war, readily complied with the requiſition. A ſquadron, ſuperior in force to commodore Johnſtone's, was with all diſpatch fitted out at Breſt, and ſailed from thence only nine days after the commodore left St. Helen's. The ſquadron conſiſted of five ſhips of the line, and ſeveral frigates, with a number of Eaſt India ſhips and tranſports, having on board a conſiderable land force, and a train of artillery. Monſieur de Suffrein, who commanded it, received orders to counteract the operations of commodore Johnſtone wherever he might happen to meet with him, but in an eſpecial manner to provide for the ſecurity of the Cape of Good Hope. With ſuch orders he proceeded on his expedition, and having diſcovered the Britiſh ſquadron at anchor in Port Praya Bay, took the ſudden reſolution of attacking it, although in a neutral port, expecting probably, in that ſituation, to find it unprepared for action, and to obtain an eaſy conqueſt. In the former of theſe expectations he appears not to have been miſtaken, but in the latter was grievouſly diſappointed. When the alarm was firſt given, at leaſt fifteen hundred perſons are ſaid to have been abſent from the ſhips of the Britiſh ſquadron, employed in the neceſſary ſervices of watering, fiſhing, and embarking live-ſtock, and other freſh proviſions. The commodore's firſt ſignal was for all perſons to return from the ſhore, which he enforced by the firing of a gun; another was ſoon afterwards made to unmoor, and a third to prepare for action. But the French commodore gave them little time for preparation. The appearance of his ſquadron was firſt communicated by ſignal from the Iſis, lying near the mouth of the bay, between nine and ten in the morning; and before eleven monſieur de Suffrein, having ſeparated from his convoy, entered the bay with five ſhips of the line. In the Heros, of ſeventy-four guns, he led the way, and, firing at the Iſis as he paſſed, kept on his courſe until he was within a cable's length

attacked by the French admiral Suffrein.

length of the Monmouth and Hero, two of the largeſt ſhips of the Britiſh ſquadron, and there dropped his anchor; the next French ſhip that followed was the Annibal, which ſhot a-head of monſieur de Suffrein, and there dropped anchor; the third, the Arteſien, anchored about the ſame diſtance aſtern: And in this ſituation they began a heavy cannonade, ſprings having been paſſed on their cables before they entered the bay. The other two French ſhips, the Sphynx and the Vengeur, did not anchor, but ranged about the bay, firing at every ſhip as they paſſed, and endeavouring to board the merchantmen; but in this they had little ſucceſs. Notwithſtanding the ſuddenneſs of the attack, the fire of the French ſquadron was returned with vigour and effect by ſuch of the Britiſh ſhips as could bring their guns to bear. Captain Alms, in the Monmouth, kept up a well-directed fire; and from the Hero, captain Hawler iſſued a conſtant, awful, heavy diſcharge of artillery. On board the laſt of theſe ſhips commodore Johnſtone removed, ſoon after the beginning of the action, finding that the Romney, from her particular ſituation, was likely to have no great ſhare in it: He was accompanied by general Meadows, and captain Saltern. Captain Paiſley, in the Jupiter, by working hard from the beginning of the buſineſs, had got a ſpring upon his cable, by which means every ſhot from his ſhip took effect. Even the Eaſt India ſhips, recovering after a time from their ſurpriſe, materially aſſiſted in the action. It was not long before the Arteſien, that had anchored aſtern of monſieur de Suffrein, quitted her ſtation, and went out to ſea, carrying with her the Hinchinbroke Eaſt Indiaman. She had alſo boarded the Fortitude; but her decks were quickly cleared of Frenchmen by the gallantry of captain Jenkinſon, of the ninety-eighth regiment, who, with his company, poured in upon them a conſtant and well-directed fire of muſquetry. They had afterwards the ſatisfaction of taking out of the water, and ſaving two of the enemy, who in the conflict had been forced overboard, and could not regain their own ſhip by ſwimming. About three quarters of an hour after the commencement of the action, the French commodore, finding his ſituation too hot to be longer endured, cut his cable and followed the Arteſien. The Annibal, the only remaining French ſhip, was now left as a mark to be fired at by every Britiſh ſhip that could bring her guns to bear upon her, and in a ſhort time was reduced to an apparent wreck. Such a picture of diſtreſs, it is ſaid, was ſcarcely ever ſeen. Having remained in this ſituation for near a quarter of an hour, her cable was either cut or ſhot away, when the ſhip turning round on her heel, drifted out to ſea before the wind, her maſts tottering, her yards hanging different ways, and her ſails in rags. As ſhe paſſed along, her mizen-maſt firſt, and afterwards her main-maſt, fore-maſt, and part of her bowſprit, in ſucceſſion fell into the ſea. After ſhe got clear of the Britiſh ſhips, ſome of her companions took her in tow, and, to the ſurpriſe of every one, the Annibal, notwithſtanding her diſabled ſituation, had the good fortune to eſcape. The commodore, after ſummoning by ſignals all his captains, and receiving from them a report of the ſtate of their ſhips, ordered a purſuit; and, in the Romney, was the firſt that got out of the bay. He was followed in ſucceſſion by the reſt of his ſquadron, except the Iſis, captain Sutton, who being employed in repairing his damages, did not obey his ſignal for near three hours, although it was enforced by the repeated firing of guns. It is to be remarked, that although the Iſis, lying near the mouth of the bay, had very little ſhare in the action, ſhe had ſuſtained ſome damage from the fire of the French ſhips as they paſſed and repaſſed her. The Iſis having at laſt come out, the purſuit was continued; but ſo much time had been already waſted in waiting for her, that before the commodore could come near the French ſquadron the ſun had ſet, and the wind become boiſterous. If he diſcontinued the purſuit,

ſuit, the probability was, that monſieur de Suffrein would reach the Cape before him: If he continued it, and engaged as ſoon as he came up, an action in the night was liable to ſo much uncertainty as ſcarcely to be reconcilable with the main object of the expedition: On the other hand, if he purſued, but deferred the engagement until the morning, he would in the mean time be led ſo far to leeward after the French ſhips, which were running before the wind with all their ſails ſet, that it would be impoſſible for him afterwards to beat to windward and rejoin his convoy, whereby the expedition would be at once fruſtrated, and a valuable convoy left unprotected. A ſituation preſenting ſo many difficulties muſt have been a trying one to any commander, but eſpecially to one of the commodore's impatience and iraſcibility. However, after conſidering the matter in every point of view, he determined to follow that courſe which ſeemed moſt conſiſtent with the nature of his inſtructions. This was, to rejoin his convoy without delay; which he effected with ſome difficulty, after plying to windward for ſeveral days. The Hinchinbroke Eaſt Indiaman was retaken the day after the engagement, with twenty-five Frenchmen on board; and the Infernal fire-ſhip, which had been alſo carried off by the enemy, was abandoned by them in the night, and, after ſome days, reached Port Praya Bay in ſafety: So that monſieur de Suffrein retained no trophy to conſole him for his repulſe. The loſs of men in this engagement was not ſo great as might have been expected, conſidering the cloſeneſs of the action, the ſmoothneſs of the water, and the crowded ſituation of the ſhips. It amounted to forty-three killed, and one hundred and thirty-four wounded, including officers, and was ſo equally divided, that almoſt every ſhip in the ſquadron and convoy bore a part. Some of the ſhips having been diſabled, particularly the Hinchinbroke Eaſt Indiaman, they were refitted

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with all poſſible diſpatch; and on the ſecond of May the whole ſquadron ſailed from Port Praya Bay.

The Dutch garriſon at the Cape reinforced by the French.

As it was much to be feared that monſieur de Suffrein would reach the Cape before the Britiſh ſquadron, which might render an attempt upon it not only extremely hazardous, but perhaps altogether impracticable, the commodore, on the twelfth of June, diſpatched four of his ſmaller faſt-ſailing veſſels to proceed a-head of the reſt of the ſquadron, for the purpoſe of gaining intelligence, with orders to rejoin him in a certain latitude. The detached ſquadron, having proceeded to the ſouthward of the Cape, fortunately, on the firſt of July, fell in with and took a Dutch ſhip bound for Ceylon, laden with ſtores and proviſions, and forty thouſand pounds in bullion, which had left Saldahna Bay only a few days before. From her they learnt that monſieur de Suffrein, with his ſquadron, and part of his convoy, had arrived at the Cape on the twenty-firſt of June, where he had landed five hundred men to reinforce the garriſon, amongſt whom were eighty or ninety artillery men. They alſo received information that five Dutch Eaſt India ſhips, homeward-bound, and richly laden, were lying in Saldahna bay, about forty miles north from the Cape. With this intelligence, and their prize, the detached ſquadron returned, and on the ninth of July joined the commodore at the appointed place of rendezvous. A conſultation was now held between the commodore and general Meadows, on the ſubject of the intelligence received by the Dutch prize; and the attempt upon the Cape was given over as impracticable. At this conſultation colonel Fullarton was preſent, and urged the moſt forcible reaſons for reſuming (now that the deſign againſt the Cape had miſcarried) the original project of an attack on the Spaniſh ſettlements in South America; from whence they might afterwards proceed to the Eaſt Indies, through the Pacific

Ocean: But the commodore determined either to take or deſtroy the ſhips that lay in Saldahna Bay. In proſecution of this deſign he ſteered for the land, and, as he approached the ſhore, took the pilotage upon himſelf, judging his diſtance from it by the depth of water. So ably was this enterpriſe conducted, that the Britiſh ſquadron, arriving off the mouth of the bay in the night, entered it with ſo much rapidity, the commodore in the Romney leading the way, that although the Dutch ſhips were run a-ſhore, and ſet on fire by their crews, as ſoon as they diſcovered an enemy's ſquadron, the boats of the Britiſh fleet nevertheleſs arrived in time to extinguiſh the flames in all of them, except the Middleburgh, on board of which the fire raged ſo violently that it was impoſſible to ſave her. It was now neceſſary to tow the burning ſhip to a diſtance from the reſt; a work which was undertaken with alacrity, and performed with ſucceſs, although with imminent danger, as ſhe blew up with a violent exploſion in ten minutes after the boats quitted her. The other prizes were got afloat the ſame evening. Both the French and Britiſh commanders had ſecondary objects to which their inſtructions extended, beſides what related to the Cape of Good Hope. Monſieur de Suffrein, after providing for the ſecurity of the Cape, was to proceed with his ſquadron to the Eaſt Indies: And the inſtructions to the Britiſh commanders imported, that after either the ſucceſs or failure of the expedition againſt the Cape, a certain number of the ſhips ſhould be ſent to the Eaſt Indies, to reinforce ſir Edward Hughes; and in caſe of failure, part of the troops was alſo to be ſent, and the remainder to proceed to the leeward iſlands in the Weſt Indies. But the intelligence received by the Dutch prize of the invaſion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally, and of the cutting off of a ſtrong detachment of Britiſh troops under colonel Baillie, determined the Britiſh commanders to deviate from their inſtructions, and inſtead of dividing the land force, to ſend the whole to the Eaſt

Commodore Johnſtone makes prizes of four Dutch Eaſt India-men.

The Britiſh armament under general Meadows ſails for the Eaſt Indies.

Eaſt Indies, to replace the loſs of colonel Baillie's detachment. Accordingly, the Dutch prizes, after being fitted for ſea, were diſpatched without a convoy to St. Helena; and the commodore having accompanied the detachment of ſhips bound to India with his whole force to the fourth degree of longitude beyond the Cape, there ſeparated from it, and, with the Romney and frigates, returned to St. Helena to join his prizes, and conduct them to England. In their way thither they were ſeparated by a ſtorm; and two of the prizes were unfortunately loſt.

In a former part of this work we have already ſeen that in the firſt year of the war with the French, the power of that nation in India was almoſt annihilated. After the taking of Pondicherry, the iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius, with the port of Mahie, on the continent of Aſia, were nearly all the poſſeſſions that remained to them in that quarter of the world. Nevertheleſs they contrived to maintain their influence with the native powers, and at length, by means of their emiſſaries, to excite a powerful combination amongſt them, which threatened deſtruction to the Britiſh intereſt. During the courſe of the former war, the Engliſh Eaſt India company had acquired ſo immenſe an extent of territory, and ſeemed ſtill ſo deſirous of graſping at more, that the native princes were become jealous of their greatneſs, and ſecretly wiſhed the deſtruction of their power. Many of them had alſo private grounds of diſguſt, ariſing from the rapacity and unprincipled conduct of ſeveral of that company's ſervants. From ſome cauſe of difference a war had broken out between the Engliſh company and the Mahrattas, a fierce and warlike nation, and one of the moſt powerful in Hindoſtan. The celebrated Hyder Ally Cawn, regent of the Myſore country, was at the ſame time engaged in a war with the Mahrattas. But in conſequence of the intrigues of French agents, means were found to ſettle the differences between theſe two powers, and inſtead of being enemies, to unite them as friends. Hyder agreed to join the Mahrattas in the war: Powerful ſuccours were promiſed to be ſent from the French iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius: And in the end a confederacy againſt the Engliſh was entered into between the Mahratta ſtates, Hyder Ally Cawn, the ſoubah of the Decan, and the rajah of Berar, to which moſt of the leſſer powers of Hindoſtan were prevailed upon to accede. Hyder's country is ſeparated from the territories belonging to the India company by a chain of mountains called the Ghauts. From theſe mountains Hyder, in the month of June 1780, after making all neceſſary preparations, deſcended with an army of an hundred thouſand men, who ſpread themſelves like a torrent over the country below. For a conſiderable time before this invaſion, intelligence had been repeatedly conveyed from the frontiers to the preſidency of Madras, acquainting them with the hoſtile diſpoſition manifeſted by Hyder towards the Engliſh, and his preparations for entering the Carnatic. But that board treated with contempt all ſuch intimations, and had taken no ſufficient meaſures for the defence of the eſtabliſhment againſt ſuch an attack. Amongſt other evils flowing from their ſhameful indifference and inexcuſable negligence, this was not the leaſt, that the company's troops on the coaſt of Coromandel had not been collected together, but were ſuffered to remain ſcattered about the country in different diſtricts and garriſons; from whence it happened that when Hyder made his irruption no ſufficient army could immediately be brought into the field to oppoſe him. When at laſt the appearance of Hyder's horſe, in the neighbourhood of the Mount, convinced the preſidency of the truth of their previous intelligence, the troops in Madras and its neighbourhood were aſſembled; and theſe, after being joined by the troops from Pondicherry, under colonel Braithwaite, amounted only to fifteen hundred Europeans, and four thouſand two hundred ſepoys. With this force, and

Invaſion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ally.

and an artillery of forty-two field-pieces, five cohorns, and four battering cannon, general ſir Hector Monro marched from the Mount to Conjeveram, the largeſt village in the Carnatic, ſixty miles diſtant from Madras, and thirty-five from Arcot, then beſieged by the enemy. The march of ſir Hector Monro to Conjeveram, as had been foreſeen, obliged Hyder Ally to raiſe the ſiege of Arcot; and this ſervice being performed, the Britiſh general determined to remain in his preſent ſituation until he ſhould be joined by colonel Coſby, with a detachment of fifteen hundred ſepoys, and ſome cavalry, then on his march from the Tanjore country, in the ſouth, and by another detachment of three thouſand men, including two companies of European infantry, and ſixty European artillery-men, with ten field-pieces, under colonel Baillie, coming from the Guntoor Circar in the north. The progreſs of the laſt of theſe officers to the ſouthward had been retarded, partly by the contradictory nature of the orders received during his march, proceeding from the fluctuating and uncertain ſtate of the Engliſh councils at Madras, and partly by the overflowing of rivers in his way. However, at length he arrived at Perambaucum, a village within fifteen miles of the main army. Hyder Ally, by means of his emiſſaries, had exact intelligence of the colonel's motions; and diſpatched his ſon Tippoo Saib, with thirty thouſand horſe, eight thouſand foot, and twelve pieces of artillery, to attack him at Perambaucum, and, if poſſible, prevent his junction with ſir Hector Monro. Numerous as the troops compoſing this detachment were, compared with the ſmall force under colonel Baillie, the latter, nevertheleſs, with his uſual gallantry, and with great ſlaughter, repulſed them in various fierce attacks, that laſted for ſeveral hours. Still however the enemy hovered round him, with an apparent intention of renewing their attacks whenever there ſhould be a favourable opportunity: And as their numbers ſeemed to increaſe, colonel Baillie became doubtful whether he ſhould be able to effect a junction, and acquainted the commander in chief with his apprehenſions. This intelligence reached ſir Hector Monro on the ſixth of September, and, in the evening of the eighth, twelve hundred choſen men under colonel Fletcher were detached to reinforce colonel Baillie. Theſe having moved with great expedition, arrived at Perambaucum at break of day of the ninth, and in the evening of that day the united detachments began their march towards Conjeveram. As ſoon as they were perceived to be in motion, the enemy brought ſome guns to bear upon their left flank, which did conſiderable execution. Theſe guns captain Rumley, with a detachment, was ordered to ſtorm; but being prevented from reaching them by an unfordable water-courſe that intervened, he was obliged to return without effecting his purpoſe. In conſequence of the fire of the enemy, and this unſucceſsful movement, ſome confuſion and diſorder aroſe amongſt the ſepoys, which determined colonel Baillie to halt till the morning. In the mean time Hyder Ally, who received minute information of every thing that paſſed, determined to take advantage of colonel Baillie's embarraſſed ſituation, and in the night decamped from the neighbourhood of Conjeveram, and marched with his army towards Perambaucum. At dawn in the morning colonel Baillie renewed his march, but had not proceeded far when he found himſelf environed on one ſide by Tippoo Saib's army, and on the other by that of his father. Tippoo had already begun to fire upon his left with eight pieces of cannon, and in a ſhort lime ſixteen were opened upon his right from the army of Hyder Ally. The cannonade was briſkly returned by colonel Baillie, and the attacks of the irregular cavalry were ſucceſsfully repulſed for an hour and a half, when, ſome of the tumbrils unfortunately blowing up, the Britiſh guns were ſilenced, partly from a ſcarcity of ammunition, and partly from the number of artillery-men that had fallen. The enemy, obſerving the confuſion

Defeat and diſaſter of a Britiſh detachment under colonel Baillie.

ariſing

ariſing from the blowing up of the tumbrils, now advanced nearer, and ſeeming in a particular manner to threaten colonel Baillie's rear, he found it neceſſary to detach for its ſupport captain Ferrier's company of European grenadiers. This movement being made from the front towards the rear, the ſepoys, who were unappriſed of the cauſe, and probably conceived it to be a retreat, as ſoon as they ſaw the grenadiers in motion, began to follow in great diſorder. The grenadiers halted: And every method was taken to reſtore order, but in vain. The other ſepoys, who lay under a heavy cannonade, upon obſerving the confuſion and retreat of their companions, became ſuddenly panic-ſtruck, and, throwing down their arms, fled to a ſmall coppice-wood at ſome diſtance. The Europeans immediately collecting, took poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, where they defended themſelves againſt repeated attacks, whilſt the enemy's horſe made dreadful havoc amongſt the ſepoys. It was hoped that the main army, under ſir Hector Monro, might ſtill come to their relief: And in the mean time ſo bravely did this ſmall body of men defend themſelves againſt Hyder's hoſt, that although he advanced, both with his horſe and foot, within fifteen yards, he found it impoſſible to break them. But at laſt all hopes of ſuccour being at an end, and many having already fallen, the Britiſh commander, knowing that it was impoſſible for ſuch a handful of men to maintain their ground much longer againſt ſuch a multitude, and willing to ſave the few that remained, ſtepped forward with a white handkerchief in his hand, and commanded his men to order their arms, and call for quarter. But this order was no ſooner complied with, than the enemy ruſhed upon them in the moſt ferocious manner; and numbers were inſtantly put to the ſword. Nor would the carnage have ceaſed, notwithſtanding the ſurrender, but for the humane interpoſition of two French officers, Lally and Pimoran, who at laſt prevailed upon the barbarian Hyder to ſpare the gallant remains of the Britiſh detachment. The monſter gave orders to ſtop the further effuſion of blood: But could the brave men, who were thus become his priſoners, have foreſeen the unexampled miſeries they were to endure in the dungeons of the tyrant, during a long captivity, they would have deemed immediate death a happy deliverance from his more than ſavage brutality.

Hyder, fearful of being attacked by the main army under ſir Hector Monro, ſuddenly retreated, after his victory, to a place called the Round Wells, where he had before been encamped. In fact, when Hyder began his retreat, ſir Hector Monro, with his army, was at no great diſtance from him. The cannonade that happened on the evening of the ninth of September, when the united detachments under Baillie and Fletcher began their march, having been heard at Conjeveram, and reports being brought in, that Hyder's army, which had been encamped in the neighbourhood, was in motion, the Britiſh general became apprehenſive for the ſafety of the detachments, and took the reſolution of moving that ſame evening to their aſſiſtance. Verbal orders to that effect, it is ſaid, were given; but unfortunately, from ſome cauſe or other, the march was delayed until the next morning. When day-light appeared, it was no longer to be doubted that Hyder had decamped; and the cannonade having been heard to commence ſoon afterwards with redoubled fury, the general immediately gave orders for the army to be put in motion towards Perambaucum. From the miſtake of the guide, the army was led by a circuitous route ſeveral miles too far to the right, by which ſome time was loſt. When at laſt it arrived within two miles of the field of action, the firing was obſerved ſuddenly to ceaſe; and ſoon afterwards ſome wounded ſepoys being brought in, that had eſcaped from the general carnage, related the nature and extent of the misfortune that had happened. Upon receiving this intelligence, the general immediately returned upon his ſteps to Conjeveram;

veram; and after the heavy cannon had been ſpiked, and ſuch of the baggage and ſtores deſtroyed as could not be eaſily moved, he retreated with the remains of his army to Chingliput, and from thence, in a few days, to the Mount. At Chingliput, the army was joined by colonel Coſby and his detachment, who, although he had to march through a large extent of country, entirely over-run and poſſeſſed by the enemy, had the good fortune to arrive in ſafety, and preſerve his cannon and baggage. By the rapidity of his movements, he in ſome meaſure eluded the deſigns of the enemy; and whenever he was haraſſed by their cavalry, the well-regulated diſpoſition of his march, with the good countenance preſerved by the officers and troops, prevented them from making any ſerious impreſſion.

Ravages committed in the Carnatic by Hyder Ally.

By the retreat of the Britiſh army to the Mount, the whole country was laid open to be ravaged at pleaſure by Hyder and his irregular hoſt. The dominions of the Eaſt India company on the coaſt of Coromandel, which of late were ſo extenſive, might now be ſaid to be confined to Madras, and a few miles round it, and to ſuch forts and garriſons ſcattered about in different parts of the country as were ſtill occupied by the company's troops. To reduce theſe, Hyder now directed his attention. Arcot, the capital of the Nabob's dominions, ſoon fell into his hands, the reduction of it being haſtened by the treachery of ſome of the Nabob's principal ſervants. Not long afterwards Carangooly and Gingee, with many other inferior poſts, were added to the liſt of his conqueſts. And the preſidency of Madras, of late ſo full of ſecurity, now dreaded all the horrors and miſeries attendant upon a ſiege.

They had already applied to the governor-general and ſupreme council of Bengal for aſſiſtance: And to the vigorous meaſures adopted and proſecuted by that board muſt in a great meaſure be attributed the favourable change which not long afterwards took place in the company's affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel. General ſir Eyre Coote, commander in chief in India, who was then at Calcutta, was requeſted to take upon himſelf the command of the army at Madras: and in order to enable him to carry his plans into execution, independently of the Madras preſidency, who ſeemed deſirous of thwarting all the meaſures of the governor-general and commander in chief, he was furniſhed with fifteen lacks of rupees, over which ſum that board (whoſe diſpoſitions towards the governor-general, and the majority in his council, were well enough known) were not to poſſeſs any control. Sir Eyre Coote was alſo empowered to take a ſeat in the council of Madras; and Mr. Whitehill, the preſident, was ſuſpended. The commander in chief, although then ſixty-three years of age, cheerfully conſented to undertake the arduous charge thus committed to him, of endeavouring to reſtore the proſperity of the company's affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel, and of freeing that country from the ravages of Hyder Ally. He embarked without delay at Calcutta, with three hundred Europeans in battalion, upwards of two hundred artillery-men, five hundred laſcars, ſome pieces of cannon, and a large ſupply of proviſions; whilſt ten battalions of Sepoys, with twenty pieces of cannon, were under orders to march by land from Bengal to the Carnatic. Inſtructions were alſo ſent to general Goddard, who commanded the army acting againſt the Mahrattas, to ſend by ſea to Madras as many troops as he could ſpare. Sir Edward Hughes was ſolicited to block up Hyder's ſea-ports on the Malabar coaſt, and prevent him from receiving ſupplies from the iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius; and the government of Bombay received orders to make a diverſion on the ſame coaſt in favour of the war carrying on in the Carnatic, and thus alarm Hyder for the ſafety of his own dominions.

The command of the Britiſh army in the preſidency of Madras committed to ſir Eyre Coote.

Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras on the fifth of November, and after ſurmounting many difficulties and obſtacles, which either from the incapacity of the preſidency had not been foreſeen, or from their negligence were not provided for, took the field in the beginning of the year 1781, with a ſmall but well-appointed army, and an excellent train of artillery. The ſieges of Vellore, Wandewaſh, Parmacoil, and Chingliput, then blocked up by Hyder, were immediately raiſed; and he, with his whole force, retired to a guarded diſtance. From this moment the company's affairs on that coaſt began to wear a more favourable aſpect: Some of the forts that had been ſurpriſed were in a ſhort time retaken: Hyder's ravages were neceſſarily confined within narrower limits in conſequence of the caution with which he avoided an engagement: And by the Britiſh commander's taking the field, the credit of the company's arms, which had been at a low ebb ever ſince the defeat of colonel Baillie, was reſtored, and the diſaffection of the natives, which had begun to be general, was in a great meaſure repreſſed. In the courſe of the year ſir Eyre Coote found means to worſt Hyder in ſeveral battles; and although the latter ſtill maintained his ground in part of the Carnatic, a large extent of country, which had been over-run, was recovered and freed from his ravages.

Operations of the Britiſh fleet in India.

Sir Edward Hughes performed the ſervices expected of him: Hyder's ports on the Malabar coaſt were not only blocked up, but his ſhipping deſtroyed at Calicut and Mangalore, two of his principal arſenals, and his hopes of becoming a maritime power thus nipped in the bud. Towards the cloſe of this year alſo, the Dutch fort of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, the garriſon of which had been reinforced by two thouſand three hundred of Hyder's troops, was taken by a joint operation of the ſquadron under ſir Edward Hughes, and a land force under ſir Hector Monro, which the commander in chief was enabled to ſpare, after the favourable change that had taken place in the Carnatic. The immediate conſequence of the fall of Negapatam was the evacuation of all the forts and ſtrong places poſſeſſed by Hyder's troops in the Tanjore country and its borders. Such were the effects of the vigorous meaſures adopted by the governor-general and ſupreme council of Bengal for the relief and aſſiſtance of the Madras government; and ſuch the ſucceſſes that attended the company's troops under the auſpices of their veteran commander ſir Eyre Coote [*].

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[*] For a more full and particular account of the military and naval operations in India, at this period, ſee Memoirs of the late War (1778—84) in Aſia: With a Narrative of the Impriſonment and Sufferings of our Officers and Soldiers, by an Officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment.

CHAP. XLI.

Diſaffection to Great Britain of the Southern Colonies—The Britiſh Army under Lord Cornwallis joined by a large Reinforcement under General Leſlie—Action at the Cowpens, between General Morgan and Colonel Tarleton—Colonel Tarleton defeated—Conſequences of Colonel Tarleton's Defeat—The Army under Lord Cornwallis croſſes the River Catawba—Lord Cornwallis, joined by the other Diviſion of the Army under Colonel Webſter, purſues General Morgan—A Junction formed between the two Diviſions of the American Army—General Greene driven out of North Carolina—The Royal Standard erected at Hillſborough—General Greene, again croſſing the Dan, re-enters North Carolina—Lord Cornwallis falls back from Hillſborough, and takes a new Poſition—Effects of this retrograde Movement—Action near Guildford between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene.

WE muſt now return to North America, the grand theatre of the war, where it firſt began, and where the events of the preſent year were of ſuch momentous importance as to produce a total change in the future conduct of it, and in effect to place within the graſp of the revolted colonies that independence and ſovereignty for which they had been ſo long contending. From the beginning of the year 1779 the principal efforts of the Britiſh arms were directed againſt the ſouthern colonies, not only as they were deemed the eaſieſt to be reduced, but as, from the nature of their productions, they were the moſt valuable to the mother-country.

Georgia was accordingly recovered in the year 1779, and the province of South Carolina reduced in the year 1780. For ſome months after the taking of Charleſtown, the capital of South Carolina, there was in that province the brighteſt proſpect of returning peace and tranquillity. But too ſoon the ſky became overcaſt; and it was perceived in the ſouthern as it had been already experienced in ſome of the northern colonies, that the inhabitants, after their ſubmiſſion, and even whilſt the Britiſh troops remained amongſt them, did not perform the duties of their allegiance without reluctance, and when left to themſelves, quickly reverted to their old courſes, and joined the ſtandard of revolt. In the tranſactions of laſt year we have endeavoured to aſſign ſome motives for this verſatility of conduct amongſt the inhabitants of South Carolina; but to whatever cauſe their diſaffection was owing, it gave much trouble to earl Cornwallis, and greatly retarded his operations. The efficient army for diſtant ſervice was ſo much weakened by the large detachments left behind for overawing the inhabitants, that a ſingle misfortune was ſometimes ſufficient to render an expedition abortive. In the fall of the preceding year the loſs of major Ferguſon's detachment obliged lord Cornwallis to return from his northern expedition and fall back to Wynneſborough in South Carolina. Still, however, the projected movement into North Carolina was deemed ſo eſſential, that he only waited for a reinforcement to renew it. The expected reinforcement arrived at Charleſtown on the thirteenth of December. It conſiſted of a large detachment of troops under general Leſlie, who, upon landing, received lord Cornwallis's orders to march without delay, and join him with about fifteen hundred men. The general accordingly, after waiting ſome few days to procure horſes and waggons, began his march on the nineteenth of December.

Diſaffection to Great Britain of the ſouthern colonies.

The Britiſh army under lord Cornwallis joined by a large reinforcement under general Leſlie. December.

In the mean time general Greene, who had ſucceeded Gates in the command of the American army, finding it difficult to procure a

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ſufficient ſupply of proviſions in the neighbourhood of Charlotte, as that country had been already exhauſted; and being ſenſible that his preſent force was too weak to attempt any direct operation againſt lord Cornwallis; reſolved to divide it, and by deſultory incurſions in different, and nearly oppoſite quarters, to alarm and haraſs the Britiſh out-poſts on the frontiers of South Carolina. By ſuch means his troops would be kept in action, and, traverſing different parts of the country, would not only be more eaſily ſupplied with proviſions, but might in their progreſs infuſe ſome ſpirit into the militia, without whoſe aſſiſtance and co-operation he ſaw that he could do nothing effectual. Accordingly the light troops, conſiſting of three hundred infantry, under colonel Howard, one hundred and ſeventy rifle-men, under major Triplet, and ſeventy light dragoons, under lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, were put under the command of general Morgan, who was directed to proceed by the heads of the rivers to the weſtern frontiers of South Carolina, and threaten the Britiſh poſt at Ninety-ſix; whilſt the reſt of the army under general Greene ſhould march to the Pedee, and alarm the country in front of Camden.

Towards the end of December earl Cornwallis received information of the diviſion of the American army, and ſoon afterwards an account of the movements of general Morgan, who had paſſed both the Catawba and Broad River, and was ſaid to be rapidly advancing to Ninety-ſix. Upon receipt of this intelligence, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was detached with the light and legion infantry, the fuſileers, or ſeventh regiment, the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, about three hundred and fifty cavalry, two field-pieces, and an adequate detachment of the royal artillery, in all about one thouſand men. He received orders to paſs Broad River for the protection of Ninety-ſix, and either to ſtrike at Morgan, and puſh him to the utmoſt, or at leaſt oblige him to leave the country.

Morgan, in his march, had collected about four or five hundred militia, and upon his approach to the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, was joined by two hundred more, who had fled from the frontiers of Georgia when Auguſta was taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh troops. Thus the two detachments were nearly equal in point of numbers, but in cavalry, and in the general quality of the troops, Tarleton was greatly ſuperior *.

The Britiſh army now proceeded to the north-weſt, between Broad River and the Catawba. This route, leading to the back country, was choſen, that the army might the more eaſily be enabled to paſs the great rivers in its way at the fords near their ſource: It alſo afforded a proſpect of cutting off Morgan's retreat, if he ſhould elude Tarleton, or at leaſt of preventing his junction with the army under general Greene: Nor was the Britiſh general without hopes, that by following this courſe he might get between

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* Dr. Ramſay, in his Hiſtory of the Revolution of South Carolina, charges the Britiſh with ſeizing the property of the Americans; and their commiſſaries and quarter-maſters with taking proviſions, and all other things wanted by the army, wherever they could be found, charging them, at the ſame time, to the Britiſh government. That peculation was carried on in ſome departments of the Britiſh army, and that many individuals made large fortunes in this way, cannot be denied. But this never took place, in any great extent, in the ſouthern army. And the writer of this, who was commiſſary to the army under lord Cornwallis, takes the preſent occaſion of repelling the calumnies of Dr. Ramſay, as far as they may relate to himſelf, and appealing for the innocence and propriety of his conduct to many individuals now living in Carolina, as well as to the gentlemen of the army in which he ſerved. The commiſſary, during the time when he was at the Congarees, employed in collecting proviſions, and ſettling refugee families on the deſerted plantations of the Americans, without being ſupported by any troops, or covering party, furniſhed ſupplies to the army at Wynneſborough and Camden, each poſt being about forty miles from the Congarees. He had ſeveral mills to attend and feed daily, ſome of which lay ſix miles apart. The number of perſons employed by the commiſſary in this ſervice was about one hundred and twenty negroes, one ſerjeant of the 71ſt regiment, one cooper, and four inſpectors or overſeers. When the campaign opened in January 1781, there was about fifty thouſand weight of meal packed and ready for uſe. The whole expence, as charged by the commiſſary to government for this ſervice, guides, expreſſes, collecting, ſhelling, grinding, packing, wages, &c. did not amount to one hundred pounds ſterling.

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Greene's army and Virginia, and force him to an action before he was joined by his expected reinforcements. The detachment under general Leſlie, which had been purpoſely halted at Camden, until lord Cornwallis ſhould be ready to march from Wynneſborough, the longer to conceal from the American general the road which the Britiſh army meant to take, now received orders to move up the banks of the Catawba, and join the main army on its march. The march both of lord Cornwallis and general Leſlie, encumbered as they were with baggage and artillery, was greatly retarded by the ſwelling of creeks and water-courſes. Theſe obſtacles Tarleton alſo experienced; but having the command of light troops, he more eaſily ſurmounted them, and probably overtook Morgan ſomething ſooner than was expected.

The latter, after retreating over the Pacolet, made a ſhew of diſputing Tarleton's paſſage by guarding the fords. Tarleton however, on the ſixth of January, found means to paſs over his detachment within ſix miles of the enemy's encampment; and Morgan was obliged to make a precipitate retreat, leaving in his camp the proviſions that were dreſſing for his troops half cooked. Tarleton advanced and took poſſeſſion of the ground that had been left by the enemy only a few hours before.

At three in the morning the march of the Britiſh light troops was reſumed in purſuit of general Morgan; the baggage being left under a guard compoſed of a detachment from each corps, with orders not to move till daylight appeared. Tarleton, after a fatiguing march through ſwamps and broken grounds, at length came in ſight of the enemy about eight in the morning: Two of their videttes were ſoon afterwards taken; and from them information was received that the Americans had halted, and were forming at a place called the Cowpens.

General Morgan, finding himſelf hard preſſed by the Britiſh troops, had reſolved to hazard an action rather than be overtaken in the ford of the river. With this view he drew up his force in two lines, the militia under colonel Pickens forming the firſt line, and the continentals, under colonel Howard, with the Virginia rifle-men, the ſecond. Waſhington's dragoons, with ſome mounted militia, were drawn up at ſome diſtance in the rear, as a corps of reſerve. The ground which he occupied does not appear to have been well choſen: It was an open wood, and conſequently liable to be penetrated by the Britiſh cavalry: Both his flanks were expoſed; and the river, at no great diſtance, ran parallel to his rear. In ſuch a ſituation he gave a manifeſt advantage to an enemy with a ſuperior body of cavalry; and in caſe of a defeat, the deſtruction of his whole detachment was inevitable.

Action at the Cowpens between general Morgan and colonel Tarleton.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, upon receiving the intelligence communicated by the videttes, reſolved, without loſs of time, to make an attack upon the Americans. Advancing within two hundred and fifty yards of their firſt line, he made a haſty diſpoſition of his force. The light and legion infantry, and the ſeventh regiment, were ordered to form in line, a captain, with fifty dragoons, being attached to each of their flanks; and the firſt battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, and the reſt of the cavalry, were directed to form as a reſerve, and wait for orders. This diſpoſition being ſettled, Tarleton, relying on the valour of his troops, impatient of delay, and too confident of ſucceſs, led on in perſon the firſt line to the attack, even before it was fully formed, and whilſt major Newmarſh, who commanded the ſeventh regiment, was poſting his officers: Neither had the reſerve yet reached the ground which it was to occupy. The firſt line of the Americans being compoſed of militia, did not long withſtand the charge of the Britiſh regulars: It gave way in all quarters, and was purſued to the continentals. The latter, undiſmayed by the retreat of the militia, maintained their ground with great bravery; and the conflict between them and the

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the Britiſh troops was obſtinate and bloody. Captain Ogilvie, with his troop of dragoons on the right of the Britiſh line, was directed to charge the left flank of the enemy. He cut his way through their line, but being expoſed to a heavy fire, and, at the ſame time, charged by the whole of Waſhington's cavalry, was compelled to retreat in confuſion. The Britiſh reſerve now received orders to move forward; and as ſoon as the line felt the advance of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, the whole again moved on. The continentals, no longer able to ſtand the ſhock, were forced to give way. This was the critical moment of the action, which might have been improved ſo as to ſecure to the Britiſh troops a complete victory. An order, it is ſaid, was diſpatched to the cavalry to charge the enemy when in confuſion; but if ſuch an order was delivered, it was not obeyed; and the infantry, enfeebled by their fatiguing march in the morning, through ſwamps and broken grounds, and by their ſubſequent exertions in the action, were unable to come up with the flying enemy. The critical moment loſt on the one ſide was eagerly ſeized on the other. The American commander, finding that the Britiſh cavalry did not purſue, gave orders to Waſhington to cover with his dragoons the rear of the broken provincials, whilſt he exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to rally them. His endeavours ſucceeded: The continentals were rallied and formed, and now in their turn charged the aſſailants. In diſorder from the purſuit, and unſupported by the cavalry, ſuch of the Britiſh infantry as were fartheſt advanced, receiving this unexpected charge, fell back in confuſion, and communicated a panic to others, which ſoon became general. Waſhington charged with his cavalry; and a total rout enſued. The militia who had fled, ſeeing the fortune of the day changed, returned and joined in the purſuit. The Britiſh infantry were ſoon overtaken, as the ſame cauſes which retarded them in the purſuit, now impeded their flight; and almoſt the whole were either killed or taken priſoners. The two field-pieces were alſo taken, but not till the whole of the artillery-men attached to them were either killed or wounded. It was in vain that Tarleton endeavoured to bring his legion cavalry to charge and check the progreſs of the enemy: They ſtill ſtood aloof, and at length fled in a body through the woods, leaving their commander behind. Fourteen officers, however, remained with him, and about forty men of the ſeventeenth regiment of dragoons: At the head of theſe he made a deſperate charge on the whole of Waſhington's cavalry, and drove them back upon the continentals. But no partial advantage, however brilliant, could now retrieve the fortune of the day: All was already loſt; and Tarleton, ſeeing nothing farther to be done, retreated with the remains of this ſmall but brave and faithful band of adherents, to Hamilton's Ford, upon Broad River, in his way to the main army under lord Cornwallis, then at Turkey Creek, about twenty-five miles from the field of action. The only body of Tarleton's infantry that eſcaped was the guard left with the baggage, which had not reached the Cowpens at the time of the action: Early intelligence of the defeat being conveyed to the officer who commanded it, by ſome friendly Americans, he immediately deſtroyed whatever part of the baggage could not be carried off, and mounting his men on the waggon and ſpare horſes, retreated to the main army unmoleſted. Few of the legion cavalry were miſſing: One diviſion of them arrived the ſame evening in the neighbourhood of the Britiſh encampment, with the news of their defeat, and another under Tarleton, who in his way had been joined by ſome ſtragglers, appeared the next morning. The whole loſs of the Britiſh troops, in this unfortunate affair, amounted to at leaſt ſix hundred men; and of them near one half was either killed or wounded. The loſs of the Americans, according to their report of it, was ſo ſmall as ſcarcely to deſerve credit. It amounted to twelve killed, and ſixty

Colonel Tarleton defeated.

wounded

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wounded. During the whole period of the war no other action reflected ſo much diſhonour upon the Britiſh arms. The Britiſh were ſuperior in numbers. Morgan had only five hundred and forty continentals, the reſt militia. Tarleton's force compoſed the light troops of lord Cornwallis's army. Every diſaſter that befel lord Cornwallis, after Tarleton's moſt ſhameful defeat at the Cowpens, may moſt juſtly be attributed to the imprudence and unſoldierly conduct of that officer in the action. It was aſked, why he did not conſult majors M'Arthur and Newmarſh, officers of experience and reputation, who had been in ſervice before Tarleton was born? Colonel Tarleton, in his Hiſtory of the Southern Campaigns in America, admits that the ground on which Morgan formed had been deſcribed with great perſpicuity to him. He alſo admits, that he had obtained a very accurate knowledge of Morgan's ſituation, and of the ground on which Morgan had drawn up his army. That there was every proſpect of ſucceſs from the animation and alacrity of his troops; that his troops moved in a good line; that his fire was well ſupported, and produced much ſlaughter; that the continentals and back woodſmen gave ground, and the Britiſh ruſhed forward; that the ground which Morgan had choſen was diſadvantageous for the Americans, and as proper a ſituation for action as colonel Tarleton could have wiſhed: Under all theſe advantages in favour of Tarleton, and diſadvantages againſt Morgan, Tarleton is completely defeated and totally routed. Is it poſſible for the mind to form any other concluſion, than that there was a radical defect, and a want of military knowledge on the part of colonel Tarleton? That he poſſeſſes perſonal bravery inferior to no man, is beyond a doubt; but his talents at the period we are ſpeaking of never exceeded that of a partizan captain of light dragoons, daring in ſkirmiſhes. He could defeat an enemy in detail, by continually haraſſing, and cutting off detached parties.

The defeat of his majeſty's troops at the Cowpens formed a very principal link in the chain of circumſtances which led to the independence of America. Colonel Tarleton acquired power without any extraordinary degree of merit, and upon moſt occaſions exerciſed it without diſcretion.

Confequences of colonel Tarleton's defeat.

Nothing could be more unexpected by lord Cornwallis, than the news of Tarleton's diſcomfiture. If he judged from the events of former actions, where the numbers were not ſo equally balanced, and the diſproportion much more in favour of the Americans, he had reaſon to look for a victory inſtead of defeat. The diſappointment was galling; and the loſs of credit caſt a ſhade over the commencement of the expedition. But another conſequence of the defeat was of a ſtill more ſerious nature: The loſs of the light troops, at all times neceſſary to an army, but on a march through a woody and thinly ſettled country, almoſt indiſpenſable, was not to be repaired.

Deeply as his lordſhip was affected with the weight of this miſfortune, and greatly as he ſaw his difficulties increaſed by it, he nevertheleſs reſolved to proſecute the original plan of the expedition into North Carolina, as the only means of maintaining the Britiſh intereſt in the ſouthern colonies. The reinforcement under general Leſlie not having yet come up, the eighteenth of January was ſpent in forming a junction with it; and on the nineteenth the army reſumed its march. Some hopes were entertained that Morgan, incumbered as he was with priſoners, might ſtill be overtaken between Broad River and the Catawba. But that active partizan, ſenſible of his danger, quitted the Cowpens immediately after the action, and proceeding to the upper fords on Broad River, paſſed it with his detachment and the priſoners. The wounded, who were unable to travel, were left behind under the protection of a flag of truce. From Broad River Morgan directed his courſe to the Catawba,

tawba, and moved with ſo much celerity that he reached it before the Britiſh army. Yet, ſo cloſely had he been purſued, that the advance of the Britiſh troops arrived at the banks of that river in the evening of the twenty-ninth of January, only two hours after the laſt of Morgan's corps had croſſed. A heavy rain, that fell in the night, ſwelled the river ſo much as to render it impaſſable the next morning; and, as it continued ſo for two days, Morgan had time to make an arrangement for diſincumbering himſelf of the priſoners, and ſending them off under an eſcort of militia, by a different route from that which he propoſed to take. Whilſt the priſoners proceeded on their march, he, with his detachment, remained on the north banks of the Catawba, and, by calling out the militia of the country to aſſiſt him in guarding the fords, prepared to diſpute the paſſage of the Britiſh army.

Previouſly to the arrival of the Britiſh troops on the banks of the Catawba, lord Cornwallis, conſidering that the loſs of his light troops could only be remedied by the activity of the whole army, reſolved to deſtroy all the ſuperfluous baggage. By firſt reducing the ſize and quantity of his own, he ſet an example which was cheerfully followed by all the officers under his command, although by ſo doing they ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. No waggons were reſerved except thoſe loaded with hoſpital ſtores, ſalt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the ſick or wounded*. And ſuch was the ardour both of officers and ſoldiers, and their willingneſs to ſubmit to any hardſhip for the promotion of the ſervice; that this arrangement, which deprived them of all future proſpect of ſpirituous liquors, and even hazarded a regular ſupply of proviſions, was acquieſced in without a murmur.

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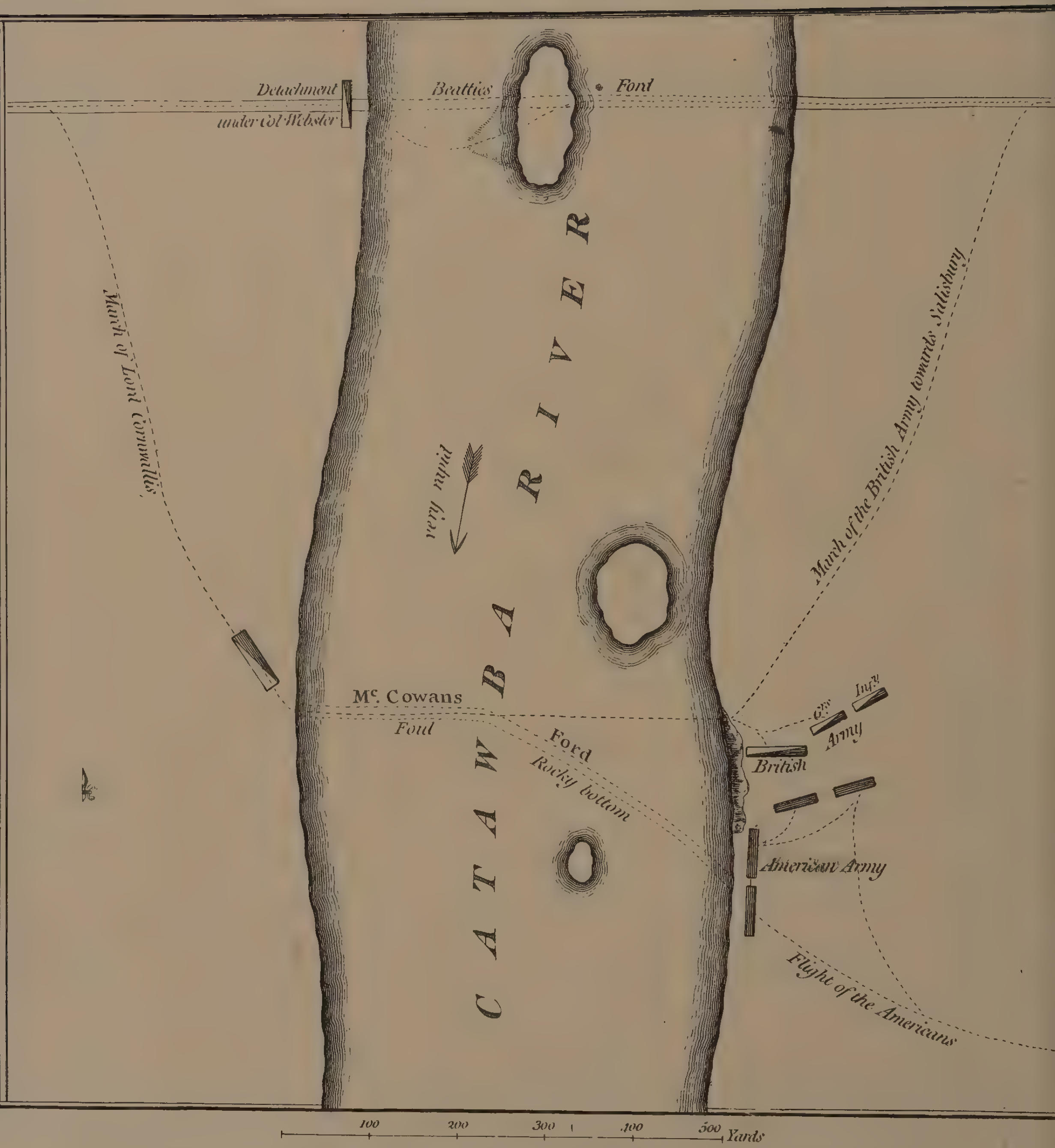
* The remainder of the waggons, baggage, and all the ſtore of flour and rum, were deſtroyed at Ramſour's Mill.

In the mean time general Greene, upon receiving information of lord Cornwallis's march, and his rapid purſuit of Morgan, left his army upon the Pedée, under the command of general Huger and colonel Williams, with orders to retreat by forced marches to the upper country, in order to form a junction with the light troops wherever it might be practicable, whilſt he, with an eſcort of dragoons, proceeded immediately to that corps, that he might be the better enabled to regulate its movements for facilitating the propoſed junction. After travelling with great expedition, he arrived at Morgan's camp on the laſt day of January.

The army under lord Cornwallis croſſes the river Catawba.

In the courſe of two days, the river having fallen ſo as to render it fordable, lord Cornwallis determined to attempt a paſſage. That he might perplex the enemy, and draw off their attention from the real object, lieutenant-colonel Webſter, with one diviſion of the army, was detached to a public ford called Beattie's, with orders to cannonade, and make a feint, as if he intended to force a paſſage; whilſt lord Cornwallis, with the other diviſion, marched to a private ford near M'Cowan's, where the paſſage was in reality to be attempted. The diviſion under lord Cornwallis marched from its encampment at one in the morning of the firſt of February, and reached the ford about dawn. The numerous fires ſeen on the oppoſite ſhore quickly convinced the Britiſh commander that this ford, although a private one, had not eſcaped the vigilance of the enemy. General Davidſon, with three hundred militia, had been ſent to guard it only the evening before. Nevertheleſs lord Cornwallis determined to proceed; and the paſſage was gallantly and ſucceſsfully effected by the brigade of guards under general O'Hara. Plunging into the rapid ſtream, in many places reaching above their middle, and near five hundred yards wide, they marched on with the utmoſt ſteadineſs and compoſure; and although expoſed to the fire of the enemy, reſerved their own, according to their orders, until they reached the oppoſite bank. The paſſage of the river was made in the following order: The light-infantry of the guards, led by colonel Hall, firſt entered the water: They were followed by the grenadiers, and the grenadiers by the battalions, the men marching in platoons to ſupport one another againſt the rapidity of the ſtream. When the light-infantry had nearly reached the middle of the river they were challenged by one of the enemy's centinels. The centinel, having challenged thrice, and received no anſwer, immediately gave the alarm by diſcharging his muſquet; and the enemy's picquets were turned out. No ſooner did the guide, who attended the light-infantry to ſhew them the ford, hear the report of the centinel's muſquet, than he turned round and left them. This, which at firſt ſeemed to portend much miſchief, in the end proved a fortunate incident. Colonel Hall, being forſaken by his guide, and not knowing the true direction of the ford, led the column directly acroſs the river, to the neareſt part of the oppoſite bank. This direction, as it afterwards appeared, carried the Britiſh troops conſiderably above the place where the ford terminated on the other ſide, and where the enemy's picquets were poſted; ſo that when they delivered their fire, the light-infantry were already ſo far advanced as to be out of the line of its direction, and it took place angularly upon the rear of the grenadiers, ſo as to produce no great effect. When general Davidſon perceived the direction of the Britiſh column, he led his men to that part of the bank which faced it. But by the time of his arrival the light-infantry had overcome all their difficulties: They were getting out of the water and forming, and ſo ſoon as they had formed, quickly routed and diſperſed general Davidſon's militia, killing or wounding about forty of them. General Davidſon was the laſt of the enemy who remained upon the bank, and in mounting his horſe to make his eſcape, received a mortal wound.


Detachment under Col. Webster
Beatties
Ford
CATAWBA RIVER
very rapid
March of Lord Cornwallis
M^{c} Cowans
Ford
Ford
Rocky bottom
March of the British Army towards Salisbury
Gds.
Infy.
Army
British
American Army
Flight of the Americans
100
200
300
400
500 Yards

SKETCH *of the* **CATAWBA RIVER** *at* **M^{c} COWANS FORD.**

Engraved for Stedmans Hiſtory of the American War.

Feb^{y}. 6th. 1794.

In effecting this difficult and dangerous paſſage of the Catawba, in the face of the enemy, the whole loſs of the guards amounted only to forty, lieutenant-colonel Hall *, and three privates, being killed, and thirty-ſix wounded †. The other troops which compoſed lord Cornwallis's diviſion of the army followed the guards in ſucceſſion; and, as ſoon as the whole had landed, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and the twenty-third regiment, was ſent in purſuit of the militia. Upon his march, receiving intelligence that the place appointed for their rendezvous was at Tarrant's Tavern, about ten miles diſtant, he left behind the twenty-third regiment, which took poſt about five miles from Beattie's Ford, and, for the ſake of diſpatch, proceeded with the cavalry only. About five hundred of the militia, from different fords, were aſſembled, when he reached the place of their rendezvous, and appeared not unprepared to receive him. Tarleton, nevertheleſs, reſolved to attack them, and animating his men with a ſtinging recollection of the action at the Cowpens, made a furious charge upon the enemy, broke through their centre, killed near fifty ‡ upon the ſpot, and quickly diſperſed the whole. The gallantry of the guards in paſſing the broad river Catawba, in the face of the enemy, and the ſubſequent rout and diſperſion of the militia, firſt at the ford, and afterwards by Tarleton, at Tarrant's Tavern, made ſuch an impreſſion on the inha-

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* Lieutenant-colonel Hall was killed in aſcending the bank, after he had croſſed the river.

† The following accidents happened to the horſes of the general officers in paſſing the river:—Lord Cornwallis's horſe was ſhot in the water, but did not drop till he reached the ſhore. General Leſlie's horſes were carried by the rapidity of the ſtream ſome diſtance down the river, until his groom got upon a rock and held them. Brigadier O'Hara's horſe rolled over with him in the water: The brigadier, no doubt, was thoroughly wet from this accident, but received no other injury.

‡ This is Tarleton's account, page 226 of his Campaigns; but a Britiſh officer, who rode over the ground not long after the action, relates, that he did not ſee ten dead bodies of the provincials in the whole.

bitants, that although the country between the Catawba and the Yadkin was deemed the moſt hoſtile part of North Carolina, the army in its progreſs to the laſt of theſe rivers met with no farther moleſtation from the militia.

General Greene had hoped, by guarding the fords with the light troops under Morgan, aſſiſted by the militia, to prevent lord Cornwallis from paſſing, until the other diviſion of the American army, under Huger and Williams, ſhould have time to come up. But the Britiſh general, by forcing a paſſage in the manner already related, quickly put an end to his hopes. The guards ſtationed at the different fords were accordingly withdrawn; and the light troops under Morgan began a precipitate retreat towards the Yadkin.

Lord Cornwallis, joined by the other diviſion of the army under colonel Webſter, purſues general Morgan.

The other diviſion of the Britiſh army, under colonel Webſter, paſſed the Catawba at Beattie's Ford, in the courſe of the day, and at night joined lord Cornwallis's diviſion, about five miles from the ford, on the road to Saliſbury. Early the next morning the Britiſh troops marched in purſuit of Morgan; but the celerity of his movements baffled all their efforts. He reached the trading ford on the Yadkin in the night between the ſecond and third of February, and with the aſſiſtance of all the boats and flats that could be collected, completed the paſſage of his corps, with their baggage, by the following evening, except only a few waggons left under an eſcort of rifle-men. The rifle-men, after a ſlight reſiſtance, fled under cover of the night, and their waggons were of courſe taken.

The American cavalry had paſſed by the ford of the river; but a heavy rain that fell during the day, rendered the river unfordable by the next morning: The ſame rain, by ſwelling the creeks, and increaſing the badneſs of the roads, had alſo retarded general O'Hara on his march; and thus Morgan's detachment, from fortunate incidents, had another hairbreadth eſcape.

All the boats and flats having been ſecured by Morgan on the other ſide of the river, the river itſelf being unfordable, and continuing to riſe, and the weather ſtill appearing unſettled, lord Cornwallis determined to march up the weſtern banks of the Yadkin, and paſs by the ſhallow fords near its ſource. All hopes of preventing the junction of the two diviſions of the American army were now at an end; but ſtill another object, not leſs eſſential, remained, which the new line of direction of the march was calculated to favour. This was, to get between the American army and Virginia, to which province it was obvious general Greene meant to retreat, rather than hazard an action with his preſent numbers. As much, therefore, as it was the intereſt of general Greene to ſecure his retreat, and avoid an action, ſo much was it that of the Britiſh commander to intercept him, and compel it, before he was joined by his reinforcements. The lower fords, upon the river that ſeparates North Carolina from Virginia, were repreſented to be impaſſable in the winter ſeaſon, and the ferries to be ſo diſtant that a ſufficient number of flats could not be collected to tranſport the American army in any convenient time. Lord Cornwallis, miſled by this information, directed his march to the upper fords upon the Dan, in order to intercept Greene's retreat, by the only route which at that ſeaſon of the year was repreſented to be practicable.

A junction formed between the two diviſions of the American army.

In the mean time the two diviſions of the American army formed a junction at Guildford Court-houſe. A council of war was held: And by their advice a retreat into Virginia, without hazarding an action, was finally reſolved upon. In order the more eaſily to effect this, a light army was formed of the beſt of the American troops, amounting in the whole to about ſeven hundred men, who were directed to manœuvre in front of the Britiſh line of march, whilſt the reſt of the army, with the baggage, proceeded by the neareſt route to Boyd's Ferry, on the Dan. Orders were ſent forward to prepare every thing neceſſary for facilitating the paſſage, whilſt general Greene marched on with all poſſible diſpatch. At laſt he reached the Dan, and ſo much had lord Cornwallis been miſinformed as to the means of paſſing the river, that the American troops, both the main and the light army, with their baggage, inſtead of meeting with any difficulty or delay, were paſſed over with eaſe, at Boyd's and Irwin's Ferries, in the courſe of a ſingle day, the fourteenth of February. The light army, which was the laſt in croſſing, was ſo cloſely purſued, that ſcarcely had its rear landed, when the Britiſh advance appeared on the oppoſite banks; and in the laſt twenty-four hours it is ſaid to have marched forty miles. The hardſhips ſuffered by the Britiſh troops, for want of their tents and uſual baggage, in this long and rapid purſuit, through a wild and unſettled country, were uncommonly great; yet ſuch was their ardour in the ſervice, that they ſubmitted to them without a murmur, from the hope of giving a deciſive blow to the American army, before it croſſed the Roanoke. And that the latter eſcaped without ſuffering any material injury, ſeems more owing to a train of fortunate incidents, judiciouſly improved by their commander, than to any want of enterpriſe or activity in the army that purſued. Yet the operations of lord Cornwallis, during the purſuit, would probably have been more efficacious, had not the unfortunate affair at the Cowpens deprived him of almoſt the whole of his light troops.

General Greene driven out of North Carolina.

The royal ſtandard erected at Hillſborough.

Lord Cornwallis, having thus driven general Greene out of the province of North Carolina, returned by eaſy marches from the banks of the Dan to Hillſborough, where he erected the king's ſtandard, and invited by proclamation all loyal ſubjects to repair to it, and take an active part in aſſiſting him to reſtore order and conſtitutional government. The loyaliſts in North Carolina were originally more numerous than in any of the other colonies: But the misfortunes conſequent on premature riſings had conſiderably thinned them. Some had ſuffered, others had left the country and joined the king's troops to the ſouthward, and thoſe who remained were become cautious from the recollection of paſt miſcarriages. Their ſpirits may be ſaid to have been broken by repeated perſecutions. Still, however, the zeal of ſome was not repreſſed; and, influenced by them, conſiderable numbers were preparing to aſſemble, when general Greene, alarmed with the intelligence of their motions, and the preſumed effect of lord Cornwallis's proclamation, and being, about the ſame time, reinforced with ſix hundred Virginia militia, under general Stevens, took the reſolution of again croſſing the Dan, and re-entering North Carolina. Even with this addition to his numbers, he had no intention of hazarding an action; but he foreſaw that his return into the province would check the riſing ſpirit amongſt the loyaliſts; and he hoped, by means of his light troops, to interrupt their communications with the royal army. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, was detached acroſs the river on the twenty-firſt of February, and the next day general Greene paſſed it with the reſt of the army.

General Greene, again croſſing the Dan, re-enters North Carolina.

A number of loyaliſts being ready to aſſemble, under a colonel Pyle, upon the branches of Haw River, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with the cavalry, and a ſmall body of infantry, was detached towards that part of the country, to give countenance to their riſing, and to afford them aſſiſtance and protection. The American colonel Lee, having alſo received intelligence of the propoſed inſurrection, haſtened with his legion towards the ſame quarter, in order to counteract Tarleton's operations, and, if poſſible, intercept and cruſh the loyaliſts before their junction with the Britiſh troops. The loyaliſts aſſembled, and on the twenty-fifth of February were proceeding to Tarleton's encampment, unapprehenſive of danger, when they were met in a lane by Lee, with his legion. The loyaliſts, unfortunately miſtaking the American cavalry for Tarleton's dragoons, allowed themſelves to be ſurrounded before they diſcovered their error. When at laſt it became manifeſt, they called out for quarter; but no quarter was granted; and between two and three hundred of them were inhumanly butchered, while in the act of begging for mercy. Humanity ſhudders at the recital of ſo foul a maſſacre: But cold and unfeeling policy avows it as the moſt effectual means of intimidating the friends of royal government.

Lord Cornwallis falls back from Hillſborough, and takes a new poſition.

The country round Hillſborough being nearly exhauſted of proviſions, and this forward poſition being thought too diſtant, after the return of general Greene's army, for affording effectual protection to the great body of loyaliſts who reſided between Haw and Deep Rivers, lord Cornwallis thought it expedient to retire from Hillſborough, and take a new poſition between theſe rivers, ſo as effectually to cover the country in his rear. This was accordingly done; and the Britiſh army, after paſſing Haw River, encamped on Allamance Creek. The bulk of mankind being guided by external appearances, nothing could be more unfavourable to lord Cornwallis's preſent views than this retrograde movement upon the approach of general Greene's army. If the loyaliſts were before cautious and ſlow, they now became timid to an exceſs, and dreaded taking any active meaſure whatſoever in behalf of the king's government more eſpecially when they reflected on the diſaſter that had happened to colonel Pyle, whoſe detachment was cut to pieces within little more than a mile of Tarleton's encampment. When lord Cornwallis, therefore, had retired beyond the Haw, he had too much reaſon to complain that he found himſelf amongſt irreſolute friends, and adjoining to inveterate enemies; and that between the two he was ſo deſtitute of information that he had loſt a very favourable opportunity of attacking the American army.

Effects of this retrograde movement.

It has been already ſtated that lord Cornwallis hoiſted the royal ſtandard, and iſſued a proclamation, at Hillſborough. As much has been ſaid upon this ſubject, as to lord Cornwallis's leaving Hillſborough before the period ſtated in his proclamation had expired, and of the conſequent diſtreſs of the loyaliſts, the author, who had the honour of being commiſſary to the army under his lordſhip's command, not wiſhing to ſhrink from any reſponſibility annexed to his ſituation, feels it incumbent on him here to ſtate a few facts. The author ever believed, and is well founded in his aſſertion, that one principal cauſe of lord Cornwallis's leaving Hillſborough ſo ſoon as he did, was in conſequence of a written report being made by the author, as well as from ſeveral converſations held with lord Cornwallis upon the ſubject, ſtating the impoſſibility of ſupporting his majeſty's army at Hillſborough. There being few cattle to be had in its neighbourhood, and thoſe principally draught oxen, lord Cornwallis had promiſed that they ſhould not be ſlaughtered but in caſe of abſolute neceſſity; but that neceſſity did exiſt, and compelled the author to direct that ſeveral of the draught oxen ſhould be killed. This meaſure, although the effect of neceſſity, cauſed much murmuring amongſt the loyaliſts, whoſe property theſe cattle were. Moſt of the cattle in the neighbourhood of Hillſborough had been conſumed by the Americans, who held a poſt for a very conſiderable time in that town.

During the time the royal army held Hillſborough, the author's cattle-drivers were obliged to go a conſiderable diſtance from the army for cattle, and even then brought in but a very ſcanty ſupply. Lord Cornwallis could not have remained as long as he did at Hillſborough had it not been for a quantity of ſalt-beef, pork, and ſome hogs, found in the town. Such was the ſituation of the Britiſh army, that the author, with a file of men, was obliged to go from houſe to houſe, throughout the town, to take proviſions from the inhabitants, many of whom were greatly diſtreſſed by this meaſure, which could be juſtified only by extreme neceſſity.

As lord Cornwallis retired, the American army advanced; and general Greene having paſſed the Haw, near its ſource, took poſt between Troubleſome Creek and Reedy Fork; but not thinking himſelf yet ſtrong enough to riſque an action, he changed his poſition every night, in order to avoid the poſſibility of it. The American light troops and militia were poſted upon the branches of Reedy Fork, whilſt general Greene, with the main army, at ſome diſtance, inclined towards Guildford Court-houſe. Whilſt the American army lay in this ſituation, lord Cornwallis, receiving intelligence that their light troops were careleſsly poſted, determined to beat up their quarters, and compel them to retire to a greater diſtance; being at the ſame time in hopes, if general Greene ſhould move to their aſſiſtance, that a favourable opportunity might offer for attacking him to advantage. Accordingly, early in the morning of the ſixth of March, the Britiſh army paſſed Allamance Creek, and marched towards Reedy Fork. Fortunately for the American light troops, they received information of the march of the Britiſh army, whilſt it was yet at ſome diſtance, and haſtily calling in their detachments, retired acroſs Reedy Fork. At Wetzell's Mill, upon that creek, they attempted to make a ſtand, but were quickly diſlodged with conſiderable ſlaughter by the brigade under lieutenant-colonel Webſter. Greene, inſtead of marching to their aſſiſtance, upon receiving intelligence of the advance of the Britiſh army, retreated over the Haw, in order to preſerve his communication with the roads by which he expected his ſupplies and reinforcements. Theſe were now faſt approaching; and in a few days he was joined by another brigade of militia from Virginia under general Lawſon, two from North Carolina, under generals Butler and Eaton, and a conſiderable detachment of regulars raiſed for eighteen months. He had alſo been joined, ſince his laſt return into North Carolina, by the militia from the frontiers under colonels Campbell and

Preſton; ſo that his numbers at this time probably exceeded five thouſand men.

General Greene, thus powerfully reinforced, knowing that the time of ſervice of the militia would ſoon expire, determined to avail himſelf of his preſent ſtrength by offering battle to lord Cornwallis. Accordingly he again advanced, and, repaſſing the Haw, moved forward to Guildford Court-houſe, within twelve miles of the Britiſh army, which, ſince his laſt retreat, had taken a new poſition at the Quakers' Meeting-houſe in the Forks of Deep River.

March.

The near approach of general Greene, and all his other movements, ſince he was joined by his reinforcements, indicating an intention of no longer avoiding an action, lord Cornwallis embraced with much ſatisfaction the proffered opportunity of giving him battle. On the evening of the fourteenth of March, the baggage was ſent off to Bell's Mill, upon Deep River, eſcorted by lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, with his own regiment, one hundred infantry of the line, and twenty of Tarleton's cavalry; and, at dawn the next morning, the reſt of the army was put in motion towards Guildford Court-houſe. About four miles from Guildford the advanced guards of both armies met, and a ſharp conflict enſued, which was well ſupported on both ſides. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton commanded the Britiſh advance, which conſiſted of the cavalry, the light-infantry of the guards, and the yagers; that of the Americans was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee, and was compoſed of his legion, with ſome mountaineers and Virginia militia. Lee behaved with great bravery, and maintained his ground with firmneſs, until the appearance of the twenty-third regiment, advancing to ſupport Tarleton, obliged the Americans to retire with precipitation. During the ſkirmiſh general Greene drew up his army on very commanding ground, in order of battle, which conſiſted of three lines. The two brigades of North Carolina militia, poſted behind

Action near Guildford, between lord Cornwallis and general Greene.

hind a fence in the ſkirt of a wood, with open ground in front of their centre, and their two flanks extending into the woods, compoſed his firſt line: The Virginia militia, under Stevens and Lawſon, formed the ſecond line, and were poſted entirely in the wood, about three hundred yards in the rear of the firſt: Two brigades of continental troops formed the third line, and were drawn up chiefly in open ground near Guildford Court-houſe, about four hundred yards in the rear of the Virginia militia. Colonel Waſhington, with the dragoons of the firſt and third regiment, a detachment of continental light-infantry, and a regiment of rifle-men under colonel Lynch, formed a corps of obſervation for the ſecurity of the right flank; and Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light-infantry, and a corps of rifle-men, was appointed to the ſame ſervice on the left.

As ſoon as the head of the Britiſh column appeared in ſight of the firſt line of the Americans, a cannonade was begun from two ſix-pounders, poſted upon the road in their centre, which was immediately anſwered by the royal artillery under lieutenant Macleod; and, whilſt this cannonade continued, the Britiſh commander, with the utmoſt diſpatch, made his diſpoſition for the attack, which was in the following order: The ſeventy-firſt regiment, with the regiment of Boſe, led by general Leſlie, and ſupported by the firſt battalion of the guards, under colonel Norton, formed the right of the Britiſh line; and the twenty-third and thirty-third regiments, led by lieutenant-colonel Webſter, and ſupported by brigadier-general O'Hara, with the grenadiers and ſecond battalion of the guards, formed the left. The light infantry of the guards, with the yagers, poſted on the left of the artillery, and the cavalry in column behind it on the road, formed a corps of obſervation.

This diſpoſition being made, the line received orders to advance, and moved forward with that ſteady and guarded, but firm and determined,

termined, reſolution which diſcipline alone can confer. It has been remarked by an eye-witneſs*, that "the order and coolneſs of "that part of Webſter's brigade which advanced acroſs the open "ground, expoſed to the enemy's fire, could not be ſufficiently "extolled." At the diſtance of one hundred and forty yards they received the enemy's firſt fire, but continued to advance unmoved. When arrived at a nearer and more convenient diſtance, they delivered their own fire, and rapidly charged with their bayonets: The enemy did not wait the ſhock, but retreated behind their ſecond line. In other parts of the line the Britiſh troops behaved with equal gallantry, and were not leſs ſucceſsful. The ſecond line of the enemy made a braver and ſtouter reſiſtance than the firſt. Poſted in the woods, and covering themſelves with trees, they kept up for a conſiderable time a galling fire, which did great execution. At length, however, they were compelled to retreat, and fall back upon the continentals. In this ſevere conflict the whole of the Britiſh infantry were engaged: General Leſlie, from the great extent of the enemy's front, reaching far beyond his right, had been very early obliged to bring forward the firſt battalion of the guards, appointed for his reſerve, and form it into line: And lieutenant-colonel Webſter, finding the left of the thirty-third regiment expoſed to a heavy fire from the right wing of the enemy, which greatly out-flanked him, changed its front to the left; and the ground become vacant by this movement was immediately occupied by general O'Hara, with the grenadiers, and ſecond battalion of the guards. Webſter, moving to the left with the thirty-third regiment, ſupported by the light-infantry of the guards, and the yagers, routed and put to flight the right wing of the enemy, and in his progreſs, after two ſevere ſtruggles, gained the right of the continentals; but the ſuperiority of their numbers, and the weight of

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* Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, p. 273 of his Campaigns.

their fire, obliged him, ſeparated as he was from the reſt of the Britiſh line, to re-croſs a ravine, and occupy an advantageous poſition on the oppoſite bank, until he could hear of the progreſs of the king's troops on the right. The Britiſh line, being ſo much extended to the right and left, in order to ſhew a front equal to the enemy, was unavoidably broken into intervals in the purſuit of the firſt and ſecond American lines; ſome parts of it being more advanced than others, in conſequence of the different degrees of reſiſtance that had been met with, or of other impediments ariſing from the thickneſs of the woods, and the inequality of the ground. The whole, however, ſtill moved forward; and the ſecond battalion of the guards, commanded by the honourable lieutenant-colonel Stuart, was the firſt that reached the open ground at Guildford Court-houſe. Impatient to ſignalize themſelves, they immediately attacked a body of continentals, greatly ſuperior in number, that was ſeen formed on the left of the road, routed them and took their cannon, being two ſix-pounders; but, purſuing them with too much ardour and impetuoſity towards the wood in their rear, were thrown into confuſion by a heavy fire received from a body of continentals, who were yet unbroken, and being inſtantly charged by Waſhington's dragoons, were driven back with great ſlaughter, and the loſs of the cannon that had been taken. Lieutenant Macleod, advancing along the road with the royal artillery, had by this time reached the open ground. By a ſpirited and well-directed cannonade he checked the purſuit of the Americans: Fortunately alſo, the ſeventy-firſt regiment, belonging to general Leſlie's diviſion, was ſeen emerging from the woods on the right, and the twenty-third, not long afterwards, made its appearance on the left. To the right and left of theſe regiments, general O'Hara, although ſeverely wounded, rallied with much gallantry and great expedition, the remains of the ſecond battalion of the guards; and the Americans were quickly repulſed and put to flight, with once more the loſs of the two ſix-pounders: Two other ſix-pounders were alſo taken, being all the artillery which they had in the field, and two ammunition waggons. The ſeventy-firſt puſhed forward to an eminence at the Court-houſe, on the left flank of the continentals. Lieutenant-colonel Webſter again advanced acroſs the ravine, defeated the corps that was oppoſed to him, and connected himſelf with the centre of the Britiſh line. The continentals of the American army being now driven from their ground, as well as the militia, a general retreat took place; but it was conducted with order and regularity. The twenty-third and ſeventy-firſt regiments, with part of the cavalry, were at firſt ſent in purſuit of the enemy, but afterwards received orders to return. It is probable that, as the Britiſh commander became more acquainted with all the circumſtances of the action, and the number of the killed and wounded, he found it neceſſary to countermand his orders, and deſiſt from the purſuit. The action being now ended in the centre and on the left of the Britiſh line, a firing was ſtill heard on the right, where general Leſlie, with the firſt battalion of the guards, and the regiment of Boſe, had been greatly impeded in advancing by the exceſſive thickneſs of the woods, which rendered their bayonets of little uſe. The broken corps of the enemy were thereby encouraged to make frequent ſtands, and to throw in an irregular fire; ſo that this part of the Britiſh line was at times warmly engaged in front, flank, and rear, with ſome of the enemy that had been routed in the firſt attack, and with part of the extremity of their left wing, which, by the cloſeneſs of the woods, had been paſſed unſeen.

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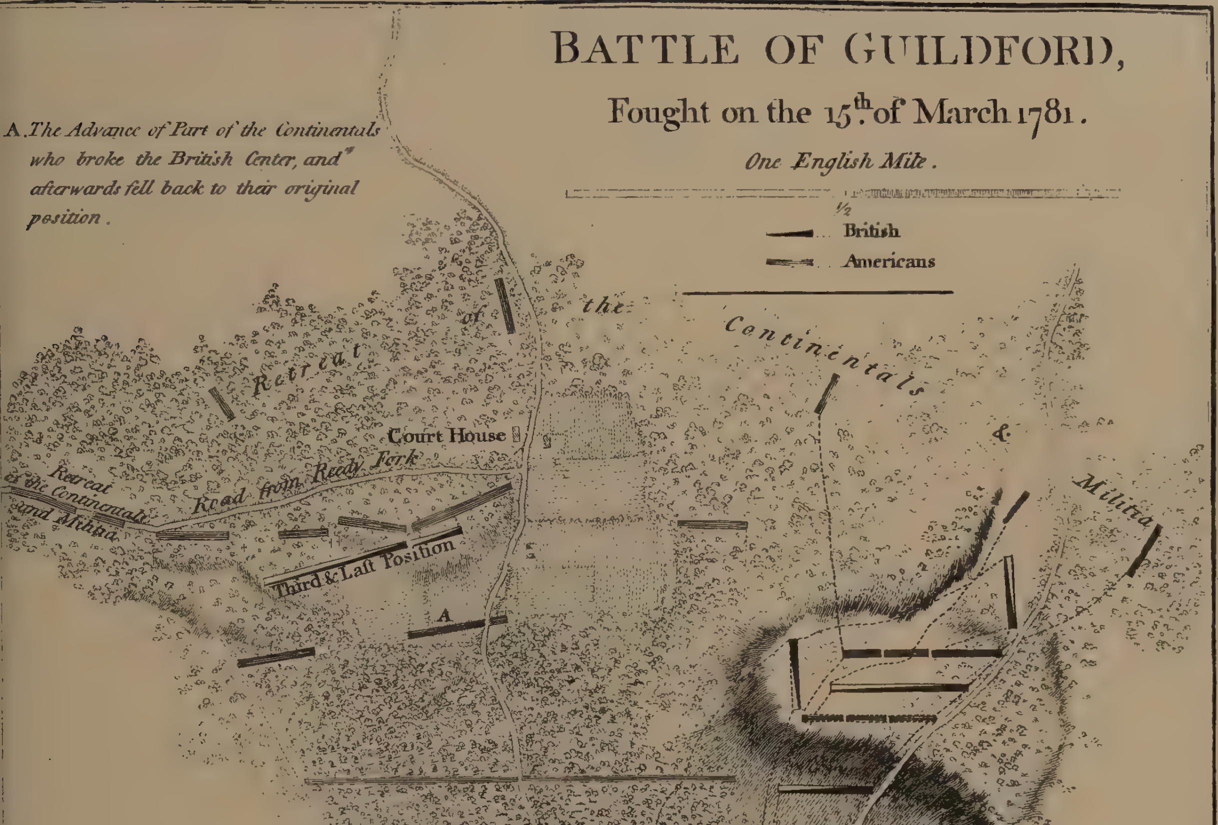
1781.

At one period of the action the firſt battalion of the guards was completely broken. It had ſuffered greatly in aſcending a woody height to attack the ſecond line of the Americans, ſtrongly poſted upon the top of it, who, availing themſelves of the advantages of their ſituation, retired, as ſoon as they had diſcharged their pieces, behind the brow of the hill, which protected them from the ſhot of the guards, and returned, as ſoon as they had loaded, and were again in readineſs to fire. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage under which the attack was made, the guards reached the ſummit of the eminence, and put this part of the American line to flight: But no ſooner was it done, than another line of the Americans preſented itſelf to view, extending far beyond the right of the guards, and inclining towards their flank, ſo as almoſt to encompaſs them. The ranks of the guards had been thinned in aſcending the height, and a number of the officers had fallen: Captain Maitland, who at this time received a wound, retired to the rear, and having had his wound dreſſed, returned immediately to join the battalion of guards to which he belonged. Some of the men, too, from ſuperior exertions, had reached the ſummit of the eminence ſooner than others; ſo that the battalion was not in regular order when it received the fire of the third American line. The enemy's fire being repeated and continued, and, from the great extent of their line, being poured in not only on the front but flank of the battalion, completed its confuſion and diſorder, and, notwithſtanding every exertion made by the remaining officers, it was at laſt entirely broken. Fortunately, at this time, the Heſſian regiment of Boſe, commanded by lieutenant-colonel de Buiy, which had hitherto ſuffered but little, was advancing in firm and compact order on the left of the guards, to attack the enemy. Lieutenant-colonel Norton thought the fortunate arrival of the regiment of Boſe preſented a favourable opportunity for forming again his battalion, and requeſted the Heſſian lieutenant-colonel to wheel his regiment to the right, and cover the guards, whilſt their officers endeavoured to rally them.



BATTLE OF GUILDFORD,

Fought on the 15th. of March 1781.

One English Mile.
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British
Americans
A. The Advance of Part of the Continentals who broke the British Center, and afterwards fell back to their original position.
Retreat of the Continentals & Militia
Retreat of the Continentals and Militia.
Court House
Road from Reedy Fork
Third & Last Position
A
Second Position after the American Front-line Retired
ORDER OF BATTLE
March of the British towards Guildford

Engraved for Stedmans History of the American War Jan. 20th. 1794.

The requeſt was immediately and moſt gallantly complied with; and, under the cover of the fire of the Heſſians, the exertions of lieutenant-colonel Norton, and his few remaining officers, were at laſt ſucceſsful in reſtoring order. The battalion, being again formed, inſtantly moved forward to join the Heſſians: The attack was renewed, and the enemy were defeated. But here the labours of this part of the line did not yet ceaſe. No ſooner had the guards and Heſſians defeated the enemy in front, than they found it neceſſary to return and attack another body of them that appeared in the rear; and in this manner were they obliged to traverſe the ſame ground in various directions, before the enemy were completely put to the rout. The firing heard on the right, after the termination of the action in the centre, and on the left, induced lord Cornwallis to detach Tarleton, with part of the cavalry, to gain intelligence of what was doing in that quarter, and to know whether general Leſlie wanted aſſiſtance. But before Tarleton's arrival on the right, the affair was over, and the Britiſh troops were ſtanding with ordered arms; all reſiſtance having ceaſed on the part of the Americans, except from a few hardy rifle-men, who, lurking behind trees, occaſionally fired their pieces, but at ſuch a diſtance as to do no miſchief. Theſe Tarleton, when requeſted, readily undertook to diſperſe with his cavalry, and ruſhing forward under cover of a general volley of muſquetry from the guards and the regiment of Boſe, quickly performed what was expected of him. In this affair Tarleton himſelf received a ſlight wound, but the reſt of his corps returned unhurt. Thus ended the hard-fought action at Guildford Court-houſe.

In this battle the Britiſh troops obtained a victory moſt honourable and glorious to themſelves, but in its conſequences of no real advantage to the cauſe in which they were engaged. They attacked and defeated an army of more than three times their own number*, not taken by ſurpriſe, but formed in regular order of battle and ready to engage; an army too, that is allowed on all hands to have been ſtrongly and judiciouſly poſted, on ground choſen with care, and moſt excellently adapted to the nature of the troops that occupied it. The reſiſtance of the enemy was in proportion to the advantages they poſſeſſed; nor did they yield but with extreme reluctance. Even the militia, encouraged by their poſition, fought with bravery, and greatly weakened the Britiſh line before it reached the continentals. The Virginia militia, who compoſed the ſecond American line, did not quit their ground, it is ſaid, until their commander, ſeeing them no longer able to withſtand the attack of regular troops, and ready to be overpowered, gave orders for a retreat. A victory atchieved under ſuch diſadvantages of numbers and ground, was of the moſt honourable kind, and placed the bravery and diſcipline of the troops beyond all praiſe; but the expence at which it was obtained rendered it of no utility. Before the provincials finally retreated, more than one third of all the Britiſh troops engaged had fallen. The whole loſs, according to the official returns, amounted to five hundred and thirty-two: Of theſe ninety-three were killed in the action, four hundred and thirteen were wounded, and twenty-ſix miſſing. Amongſt the killed were the honourable lieutenant-colonel

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* By the return of the adjutant of the day it appears that the Britiſh troops engaged in the action amounted to 1445. The cavalry are not included in this return, and indeed they were not engaged, except for an inſtant on the right, after the action in the centre and on the left was over. The Americans were generally ſuppoſed to amount to 7000 men; and a letter, found in the pocket of one of their ſerjeants that was ſlain, ſpecifies 7000 to be the number of their army: But Gordon, in his Hiſtory, who appears to have taken their numbers from official documents, ſtates them to be 1490 continentals, and 2753 militia; in all, 4243 foot ſoldiers and 200 cavalry. But he ſeems not to have included the back woodſmen under Campbell and Preſton; ſo that their whole number probably exceeded 7000 men.

Stuart of the guards, lieutenant O'Hara of the royal artillery, brother of the brigadier, lieutenant Robinſon of the twenty-third regiment, enſign Talbot of the thirty-third, and enſign Grant of the ſeventy-firſt; and amongſt the wounded brigadiers-general O'Hara and Howard; lieutenant-colonels Webſter and Tarleton; captains Swanton, Schutz, Maynard, Goodricke, lord Dunglaſs, Maitland, Peter, Wilmouſky, and Eichenbrodht; lieutenants Salvin, Winyard, Schwener, and Graiſe; enſigns Stuart, Kelly, Core, Hughes, and De Trott; and adjutants Colquhoun and Fox.

The loſs of the Americans in this action has been variouſly eſtimated, and does not appear ever to have been fully aſcertained. If we are to credit their official returns, their whole loſs in killed and wounded, as well of militia as continentals, did not exceed two hundred and fifty men. But, by lord Cornwallis's diſpatches, it appears that between two and three hundred of their dead were found upon the field after the action; and if we proportion their wounded according to the number of the ſlain, their whole loſs in killed and wounded muſt have greatly exceeded that of the Britiſh troops. The number of thoſe who were miſſing, according to their own returns, was confeſſedly great; but as the Britiſh troops took but few priſoners, it is probable that the greateſt part of the miſſing conſiſted of militia, who, eſcaping from the action, fled to their own houſes, and did not afterwards return *.

The

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* We ſhall here relate an anecdote reſpecting the late captain Maynard of the guards. He was naturally of a cheerful diſpoſition and great hilarity, and in ſeveral actions, during the courſe of the war, he had ſhewn great gallantry; but a certain preſentiment of his fate on the day of the action at Guildford poſſeſſed his mind, which preſentiment was too fatally realized.—— While the troops were marching on to form the line of battle, he became gloomy, and gave way to deſpondency. Not leſs than two or three different times did he tell colonel Norton, who commanded the battalion, that he felt himſelf very uncomfortable, and did not like the buſineſs at all. Colonel, now the honourable major-general, Norton, endeavoured to laugh him out

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The wounded of both armies were collected by the Britiſh as expeditiouſly as poſſible after the action: It was, however, a ſervice that required both time and care, as from the nature of the action they lay diſperſed over a great extent of ground. Every aſſiſtance was furniſhed to them, that in the preſent circumſtances of the army could be afforded; but, unfortunately, the army was deſtitute of tents, nor was there a ſufficient number of houſes near the field of battle to receive the wounded. The Britiſh army had marched ſeveral miles on the morning of the day on which they came to action. They had no proviſions of any ſpecies whatever on that day, nor until between three and four in the afternoon of the ſucceeding day, and then but a ſcanty allowance, not exceeding one quarter of a pound of flower, and the ſame quantity of very lean beef. The night of the day on which the action happened was remarkable for its darkneſs, accompanied with rain, which fell in torrents. Near fifty of the wounded, it is ſaid, ſinking under their aggravated miſeries, expired before the morning. The cries of the wounded and dying who remained on the field of action during the night exceed all deſcription. Such a complicated ſcene of horror and diſtreſs, it is hoped, for the ſake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life. Had lord Cornwallis had with him at the action at Guildford Court-houſe, thoſe troops that were loſt by colonel Tarleton at the Cowpens, on the fifteenth of March 1781, it is not extravagant to

out of his melancholy ideas, but in vain; for even after the cannonade began he reiterated the forebodings of what he conceived was to happen. Early in the action he received a wound in the leg; unable to proceed, he requeſted Mr. Wilſon, the adjutant of the guards, to lend him his horſe, that he might ride on with the battalion, and when in the act of mounting, another ſhot went through his lungs, and incapacitated him from proceeding. After being conveyed in a litter to Wilmington, and then lingering a few days, he died of his wounds, greatly regretted.

ſuppoſe that the American colonies might have been reunited to the empire of Great Britain.

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Hiſtory, perhaps, does not furniſh an inſtance of a battle gained under all the diſadvantages which the Britiſh troops, aſſiſted by a regiment of Heſſians and ſome yagers, had to contend againſt at Guildford Court-houſe. Nor is there, perhaps, on the records of hiſtory, an inſtance of a battle fought with more determined perſeverance than was ſhewn by the Britiſh troops on that memorable day. The battles of Crecy, of Poictiers, and of Agincourt, the glory of our own country, and the admiration of ages, had in each of them, either from particular local ſituation, or other fortunate and favourable circumſtances, ſomething in a degree to counterbalance the diſparity of numbers: Here time, place, and numbers, all united againſt the Britiſh. The American general had choſen his ground, which was ſtrong, commanding, and advantageous; he had time not only to make his diſpoſition, but to ſend away his baggage, and every incumbrance. His cannon, and his troops, in numbers far exceeding the Britiſh, were drawn out in readineſs to commence the action, when lord Cornwallis approached to attack him.

General Greene, after paſſing Reedy Fork Creek, three miles from the field of action, halted for ſome little time on the other ſide to collect his ſtragglers, and then retreated to the iron works on Troubleſome Creek, about twelve miles farther. When the extent of the Britiſh loſs was fully aſcertained, it became too apparent that lord Cornwallis was not in a condition either to give immediate purſuit, or to follow the blow the day after the action. Added to its other diſtreſſes, the army was almoſt deſtitute of proviſions: Under ſuch circumſtances, although a victory had been gained, a retreat became neceſſary towards that quarter from whence ſupplies could be obtained. About ſeventy of the wounded, not in a condition to travel, were left at the Quakers' Meeting-houſe, under the protection of a flag of truce; and on the third day after the action, lord Cornwallis began to retire, by eaſy marches, towards Croſs Creek *.

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* Lord Cornwallis was greatly diſappointed in his expectations of being joined by the loyaliſts. Some of them indeed came within the lines, but they remained only a few days.—— I ſhall here relate an anecdote connected with this ſubject, and in itſelf not a little intereſting: The commiſſary, who conſidered it as his duty not only to furniſh proviſions to the army, but alſo to learn the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, fell in about this time with a very ſenſible man, a Quaker, who, being interrogated as to the ſtate of the country, replied, That it was the general wiſh of the people to be reunited to Britain; but that they had been ſo often deceived in promiſes of ſupport, and the Britiſh had ſo frequently relinquiſhed poſts, that the people were now afraid to join the Britiſh army, leſt they ſhould leave the province, in which caſe the reſentment of the revolutioners would be exerciſed with more cruelty; that although the men might eſcape, or go with the army, yet, ſuch was the diabolical conduct of thoſe people, that they would inflict the ſevereſt puniſhment upon their families. "Perhaps," ſaid the Quaker, "thou art not acquainted with the conduct of thy enemies towards thoſe who wiſh "well to the cauſe thou art engaged in. There are ſome who have lived for two, and even "three years in the woods, without daring to go to their houſes; but have been ſecretly ſup"ported by their families. Others, having walked out of their houſes, under a promiſe of "being ſafe, have proceeded but a few yards before they have been ſhot. Others have "been tied to a tree and ſeverely whipped. I will tell thee of one inſtance of cruelty: A "party ſurrounded the houſe of a loyaliſt; a few entered; the man and his wife were in bed; "the huſband was ſhot dead by the ſide of his wife." The writer of this replied, that thoſe circumſtances were horrid; but under what government could they be ſo happy as when enjoying the privileges of Engliſhmen? "True," ſaid the Quaker, "but the people "have experienced ſuch diſtreſs, that I believe they would ſubmit to any government in the "world to obtain peace." The commiſſary, finding the gentleman to be a very ſenſible, intelligent man, took great pains to find out his character. Upon inquiry, he proved to be a man of the moſt irreproachable manners, and well known to ſome gentlemen of North Carolina, then in our army, and whoſe veracity was undoubted. But a few days after this, the army had a ſtrong proof of the truth of what Mr. ———, who ſtill reſides in North Carolina, and for that reaſon muſt not be mentioned by name, had ſaid. The day before the Britiſh army reached Croſs Creek, a man bent with age joined it; He had ſcarcely the appearance of being human; he wore the ſkin of a racoon for a hat, his beard was ſome inches long, and he was ſo thin, that he looked as if he had made his eſcape from Surgeon's-hall. He wore no ſhirt, his whole dreſs being ſkins of different animals. On the morning after, when this diſtreſſed man came to draw his proviſions, Mr. Brice, the deputy muſter-maſter-general of the provincial forces, and the commiſſary, aſked him ſeveral queſtions. He ſaid, that he had lived

for three years in the woods, under ground; that he had been frequently ſought after by the Americans, and was certain of inſtant death whenever he ſhould be taken; that he ſupported himſelf by what he got in the woods; that acorns ſerved him as bread; that they had, from long uſe, become agreeable to him; that he had a family, ſome of whom, once or twice in a year, came to him in the woods; that his only crime was being a loyaliſt, and having given offence to one of the republican leaders in that part of the country where he uſed to live.

CHAP. XLII.

Proclamation by Lord Cornwallis—The Britiſh Army arrives in the Vicinity of Wilmington—General Greene marches againſt Lord Rawdon at Camden—Embarraſſment of Lord Cornwallis—Lord Cornwallis determines to march through North Carolina into Virginia—Lord Rawdon reſolves to attack the Camp of General Greene at Hobkirk's Hill—Fort Watſon ſurrenders to the Americans—A Detachment under Colonel Watſon joins Lord Rawdon at Camden—Lord Rawdon, after various Efforts to bring General Greene to an Engagement, retires from Camden—and proceeds to Monk's Corner—Britiſh Outpoſts reduced by the Americans—Auguſta ſurrendered to the Americans.

PREVIOUSLY to the departure of the army from Wynneſborough, lieutenant-colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charleſtown, had been directed to ſend round by water a competent force to take poſſeſſion of Wilmington in North Carolina, and occupy it as a poſt with which lord Cornwallis, in his progreſs to the northward, might open a communication, for the purpoſe of obtaining ſupplies. Major Craig, who was detached on this ſervice, took poſſeſſion of Wilmington, after a ſlight reſiſtance from the enemy, about the end of January; and although his force was ſmall, by great labour and perſeverance he fortified his poſt in a ſhort time, ſo as to ſecure it againſt inſult, and by ſome ſucceſsful excurſions into the country had made himſelf reſpected. As Wilmington lies near the mouth of Cape Fear River, and the ſettlement of Croſs Creek is upon a branch of the ſame river, about one hundred miles higher up the country, lord Cornwallis hoped, that by marching to the laſt of theſe places, where there was a friendly ſettlement of highlanders, the army would be plentifully furniſhed with proviſions, the ſick and wounded with refreſhments proper for them, and that, by means of the river, a communication might be eaſily opened with major Craig, for obtaining ſuch other ſupplies as the country did not afford, but which the army was now greatly in want of. To theſe conſiderations, another of ſome importance muſt alſo be added, that Croſs Creek was a centrical ſituation for the junction of ſuch friends of government as would be willing to ſtand forth and aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing rebellion; who would have time to make their arrangements for that purpoſe, whilſt the army halted for the recovery of the wounded. Impreſſed with ſuch ſentiments, and ſtill hoping to rouſe the loyaliſts to action, lord Cornwallis, on the ſame day on which he began his march from Guildford Court-houſe, iſſued a proclamation, reciting his victory, calling upon all loyal ſubjects to ſtand forth and aſſiſt in reſtoring order and good government, and promiſing protection in their perſons and properties to all thoſe who had taken part in the revolt (murderers excepted), who ſhould be deſirous of returning to their allegiance, and ſhould actually ſurrender themſelves, with their arms and ammunition, on or before the twentieth of April, with permiſſion to return to their houſes, upon taking a military parole, and a promiſe of ſpeedy reſtoration to all the privileges of legal and conſtitutional government.

Proclamation by lord Cornwallis.

Lord Cornwallis, having iſſued his proclamation, proceeded ſlowly towards Croſs Creek, as well for the convenience of the wounded, as the more eaſy ſubſiſtence of the troops, where he arrived about the end of the month. General Greene followed through the ſame tract of country as far at Ramſay's Mill, on Deep River: And occaſional ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops, but nothing of moment between the two armies.

The Britiſh army arrives in the vicinity of Wilmington.

Upon the arrival of the Britiſh commander at Croſs Creek, he found himſelf diſappointed in all his expectations: Proviſions were ſcarce: Four days forage not to be procured within twenty miles; and the communication expected to be opened between Croſs Creek and Wilmington, by means of the river, was found to be impracticable, the river itſelf being narrow, its banks high, and the inhabitants, on both ſides, for a conſiderable diſtance, inveterately hoſtile. Nothing therefore now remained to be done but to proceed with the army to Wilmington, in the vicinity of which it arrived on the ſeventh of April. The ſettlers upon Croſs Creek, although they had undergone a variety of perſecutions in conſequence of their previous unfortunate inſurrections, ſtill retained a warm attachment to their mother-country, and during the ſhort ſtay of the army amongſt them, all the proviſions and ſpirits that could be collected within a convenient diſtance, were readily brought in, and the ſick and wounded plentifully ſupplied with uſeful and comfortable refreſhments.

During the march of the Britiſh army to Wilmington, colonel Webſter of the thirty-third, captains Schutz and Maynard of the guards, and captain Wilmouſki and enſign de Trott of the regiment of Boſe, all of them officers of merit, died of the wounds received at Guildford Court-houſe. The firſt is ſaid to have "united all the virtues of civil life to the gallantry and profeſſional knowledge of a ſoldier *." So amiable and diſtin-

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* Tarleton, p. 281.

guiſhed a character could not fail to be univerſally reſpected, and his death was lamented by the whole army *.

Lord Cornwallis being under the neceſſity of repairing to a ſea-port town, to obtain neceſſary ſupplies, particularly ſhoes and clothing for the army, was apprehenſive leſt general Greene ſhould return to South Carolina. Accordingly, ſeveral meſſengers were diſpatched to lord Rawdon at Camden, to prepare him for ſuch an event; but unfortunately neither the meſſengers nor their diſpatches ever reached the place of their deſtination.

General Greene marches againſt lord Rawdon at Camden.

Not long after the arrival of earl Cornwallis at Wilmington, he received information that what he apprehended as probable had actually taken place; and that general Greene, upon his return to the upper country, had taken the direct road to Camden, and was marching with the utmoſt expedition to attack lord Rawdon. This intelligence rendered the ſituation of the Britiſh commander more embarraſſing than ever, and left him only a choice of difficulties, none of which were unaccompanied with hazard, nor eaſy to be

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* The ſympathetic manner in which lord Cornwallis communicated to the reverend Dr. Webſter, of Edinburgh, the intelligence of his ſon's death, is at once a proof of his lordſhip's goodneſs of heart, his tender ſenſibility, and of the high eſtimation in which he held the deceaſed. The following is a Copy of his Letter on that occaſion:

"DEAR SIR, *Wilmington, April* 23, 1781.

"IT gives me great concern to undertake a taſk which is not only a bitter renewal of my own grief, but muſt be a violent ſhock to an affectionate parent.

"You have for your ſupport, the aſſiſtance of religion, good ſenſe, and the experience of the uncertainty of human happineſs. You have for your ſatisfaction, that your ſon fell nobly in the cauſe of his country, honoured and lamented by all his fellow-ſoldiers; that he led a life of honour and virtue, which muſt ſecure him everlaſting happineſs. When the keen ſenſibility of the paſſions begins to ſubſide, theſe conſiderations will give you real comfort.

"That the Almighty may give you fortitude to bear this ſevereſt of trials, is the earneſt wiſh of your companion in affliction, and moſt faithful ſervant,

"CORNWALLIS."

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Embarraſſment of lord Cornwallis.

ſurmounted. It was undoubtedly his wiſh to afford ſuccour to lord Rawdon; but he knew that it was impoſſible for him, after the progreſs already made by general Greene, to arrive in time. The fate of lord Rawdon and his garriſon muſt be determined long before the Britiſh army could reach Camden; and, ſhould general Greene be ſucceſsful, there was danger that he might have it in his power to hem up his lordſhip while on his march between the great rivers, and, by cutting off his ſubſiſtence, render his arms uſeleſs. On the other hand, if general Greene ſhould be defeated, the return of the Britiſh army would be leſs neceſſary. A meaſure pregnant with ſo much danger in the execution, and promiſing ſo little advantage in the reſult, was not to be haſtily adopted: Yet ſomething was neceſſary to be done. The effective force under his lordſhip, from ſickneſs, deſertion, and the loſs ſuſtained at Guildford Court-houſe, was now reduced to fourteen hundred and thirty-five men, a number which he conſidered as totally inadequate to acting offenſively in North Carolina. To remain where he was would not only be uſeleſs, but, as the heat of ſummer increaſed, endanger the health of the troops. To return to South Carolina by land would be accompanied with the hazards already mentioned *; and to return by water would not only be diſgraceful, but take up much time in waiting for the tranſports, and in the end probably be attended with the loſs of all the cavalry and horſes belonging to the army. Upon ſuch a view of the ſubject, his lordſhip determined to take advantage of general Greene's abſence from North Carolina, to march through that province

Lord Cornwallis determines to march through North Carolina into Virginia.

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* At this time colonel Tarleton propoſed to lord Cornwallis that he might be permitted to march back through the country to Charleſtown with his cavalry; which propoſition his lordſhip very judiciouſly rejected. Colonel Tarleton, in his publication, has thought proper to cenſure lord Cornwallis for not returning to South Carolina, inſtead of going to Virginia. But olonel Tarleton, throughout his whole Hiſtory, betrays great impatience to get rid of that burden of gratitude which was due to his lordſhip for paſt benefits conferred on him without any extraordinary degree of merit.

vince into Virginia, and join his force to a ſtrong corps that had been acting there from the beginning of the year, firſt under brigadier-general Arnold, and afterwards under major-general Philips, in order to make a diverſion in favour of the Britiſh operations in North Carolina. This movement, it was thought, might have a tendency to draw general Greene back to the northward, and ſeems to have been more readily adopted, as it was the opinion of earl Cornwallis, that vigorous meaſures purſued in Virginia, and the reduction of that province, if practicable, would be the moſt effectual means of ſecuring thoſe poſſeſſions that had been already recovered in the ſouthern colonies, and of ſubjecting ſuch as remained to be ſubdued. Earl Cornwallis, having finally determined to proceed to Virginia, began his march from Wilmington on the twenty-fifth of April, where he had remained juſt eighteen days, to refreſh and refit his army.

Thus we find that the victory at Guildford drew after it ſome, and it will afterwards appear that it was followed by all the conſequences of ſomething nearly allied to a deciſive defeat. He was not joined by the loyaliſts, who were ſtill overawed by the republicans.

We muſt now attend the motions of general Greene, who, in the mean time, had entered South Carolina, and made his appearance before Camden. The amount of the force which he carried with him is very uncertain. The American accounts repreſent it to be nine hundred and thirty continental ſoldiers, and two hundred and fifty-four North Carolina militia; but we are well informed that general Greene had in the action above fifteen hundred continentals, and ſeveral corps of militia. The garriſon at Camden, under lord Rawdon, amounted to ſomething more than eight hundred men. Some well-affected militia, that came from a diſtance to offer their ſervices in this ſeaſon of danger, were neceſſarily, though reluctantly,

tantly, diſmiſſed, on account of a ſcarcity of proviſions; but, by arming every perſon already in the garriſon capable of bearing arms, even muſicians and drummers, he muſtered an effective force of about nine hundred men. General Greene, whatever his force might be, thought it inſufficient for ſtorming the Britiſh works, or even regularly inveſting them. After various changes of poſition he at length retired to Hobkirk's Hill, about two miles from the Britiſh lines, and there encamped, with an intention, it was ſuppoſed, of waiting for the junction of colonel Lee with his legion, and Marion with his militia, who were then acting at ſome diſtance in the eaſtern parts of the province. Whilſt the American army lay at Hobkirk's Hill, information was brought to Camden that general Greene had detached part of his militia to bring up his heavy baggage and cannon, which, for ſome cauſe or other, had been ſent off ſome days before: And as Lee and Marion had not yet joined, lord Rawdon thought this the proper time for an attack, in the abſence of the militia, and before the coming up of the cannon. Accordingly, at nine in the morning of the twenty-fifth of April, he marched out with all the force he could muſter, and by making a circuit, and keeping cloſe to the edge of a ſwamp, under cover of the woods, happily gained the left flank of the enemy undiſcovered. In that quarter the American camp was the moſt aſſailable, becauſe there the aſcent of the hill was the eaſieſt; but the impenetrable ſwamp that covered the approach to it had freed the enemy from all apprehenſion of an attack on that ſide. In this fancied ſtate of ſecurity, the driving in of their piquets gave them the firſt alarm of the advance of the Britiſh army, which moved on to the attack in the following order: The ſixty-third regiment, ſupported by the volunteers of Ireland, formed the right; the king's American regiment, ſupported by captain Robertſon's detachment, the left; and the New York volunteers the centre of the Britiſh line. The South Carolina

Lord Rawdon reſolves to attack the camp of general Greene at Hobkirk's Hill.

Carolina regiment and the cavalry were in the rear of the whole, and formed a corps of obſervation.

The enemy, although apparently ſurpriſed, and at firſt in ſome confuſion, formed with great expedition, and met the attack with reſolution and bravery. Their firſt line conſiſted wholly of continental troops, the Virginia brigade being on the right, and the Maryland brigade on the left. Their artillery arrived juſt as the action began, and was poſted in the centre. Their ſecond line was formed entirely of militia. General Greene, after viewing the advance of the Britiſh troops, and the narrow front which they preſented, was ſo confident of ſucceſs, that, with a view of rendering it more complete, and hemming them in on every ſide, he made an alteration in his firſt diſpoſition. The right of the Virginia, and the left of the Maryland brigades, were ordered to take the Britiſh troops in flank, whilſt the remainder of theſe two brigades marched down the hill to attack them in front; and in the mean time lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, with the cavalry, was detached to fall upon their rear. Had theſe ſeveral attacks ſucceeded, undoubtedly nothing but ruin awaited the Britiſh army: But lord Rawdon, diſcovering the enemy's deſign, quickly extended his front, by bringing forward the Iriſh volunteers, and forming them into line. The Americans who deſcended the hill in front, although they fought for ſome time with great bravery, and were well ſupported by a deſtructive fire of grape-ſhot from their cannon, could not long withſtand the impetuoſity of the aſſailants. Being compelled to retire, they were purſued by the Britiſh troops to the top of the hill. Lord Rawdon having gained the ſummit of the eminence, and ſilenced the American cannon, which were immediately drawn off, was enabled to bring the remainder of his force into action, and at length put to rout the whole American army. The continentals ſeveral times rallied and returned to the charge, but were as often broke

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and put to flight. In the mean time Waſhington with his dragoons, having got into the rear of the Britiſh troops, had made a few ſtragglers priſoners, and exacted paroles from ſome Britiſh officers who lay wounded in the field. When the event of the day turned out different from his expectations, he was fortunate enough to diſcover it juſt in time to make good his retreat. Indeed, the Americans were ſo greatly ſuperior in cavalry, that lord Rawdon, after ordering a purſuit, did not think fit to continue it farther than three miles. General Greene retreated to Rugeley's Mills, about twelve miles off, and there encamped. He was indebted to accident for the ſafety of his cannon: In the beginning of the retreat they were run down a ſteep, amongſt ſome bruſh-wood, which concealed them from the Britiſh troops as they paſſed in the heat of purſuit; and before their return they were carried off by Waſhington's cavalry. According to accounts ſaid to be taken from lord Rawdon's ſtatement, the Americans loſt in this action upwards of five hundred men: Of theſe about one hundred were made priſoners, and the reſt either killed or wounded. But general Greene eſtimates his loſs much lower: He makes it amount only to eighteen killed, one hundred and eight wounded, and one hundred and thirty-ſix miſſing; but at the ſame time admits, not without ſome degree of inconſiſtency, that ſome of the miſſing were killed, and others wounded. It was a hard-fought action; and the victory was not bloodleſs on the part of the conquerors: Although thirty-eight only were killed, their whole loſs, including the wounded and miſſing, amounted to two hundred and fifty-eight, a number which, in the preſent perilous ſtate of the province, could not be well ſpared. One officer only was amongſt the ſlain; but eleven were wounded.

Had lord Rawdon, inſtead of marching out to meet the enemy, remained in his works, ſuch was the ſuperiority of Greene, particularly in cavalry, that he muſt have reduced his lordſhip, in a ſhort time,

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time, to the neceſſity of ſurrendering through want of proviſions. The quick and marked deciſion with which he acted on this, as he had done on former occaſions, formed a very general preſage that he was one day to rank with the great military commanders; though ſo amiable a diſtinction is not to be attained without the happieſt union of courage and genius. A military leader cannot be formed, like many other characters of reſpectability in the ſtate, by mere experience in the common courſe of buſineſs. At the ſame time that he endeavours to control accidents by general maxims and comprehenſive views, he muſt vary his particular meaſures with the varying moment of action. In the midſt of danger, and at a moment's warning, he muſt call to his aid all the reſults of his paſt experience and obſervations; baniſh from his mind every extraneous idea that fancy or caſual aſſociation might ſuggeſt to diſtract his thoughts and miſlead his judgment, and perceive, at a glance, the ſhorteſt and moſt effectual proceſs for attaining his object.

Upon the approach of the American army, a very general ſpirit of revolt ſhewed itſelf amongſt the inhabitants of South Carolina, particularly in the diſtrict of Ninety-ſix, on the weſtern frontier, and on the north-eaſt in that tract of country which lies between the two great rivers Pedee and Santee. Even in Charleſtown itſelf, many of the inhabitants, although awed and reſtrained by the preſence of the garriſon, gave evident ſigns of diſaffection. In the moſt tranquil period of the province, Sumpter, on the north-weſt frontier, and Marion in the north-eaſt, had kept alive the embers of revolt, which, although at different times variouſly agitated, in conſequence of the reſtleſs diſpoſition of thoſe partiſans, were nevertheleſs prevented from gaining ſtrength by the aſcendancy of the Britiſh arms; but they now burſt forth into a flame, as ſoon as intelligence arrived that general Greene had entered the province. To encourage this ſpirit of revolt amongſt the inhabitants, and to make a dia diverſion in the north-eaſt part of the province in favour of the attempt upon Camden, general Greene had detached lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, from Deep River, to precede the army, and in conjunction with Marion, to attack ſome of the Britiſh poſts. Lee marched with ſo much expedition, that a junction was formed between him and Marion on the fourteenth of April, and on the fifteenth, in purſuance of their orders, they appeared before Fort Watſon, a Britiſh poſt on the Santee. Fort Watſon is ſituated upon an eminence, about thirty feet above the level of the circumjacent plain. The eminence is an artificial mount, raiſed by the Indians before they were diſpoſſeſſed of the country, and for ſome diſtance round it were no trees to ſhelter the approch of an enemy. The garriſon was without artillery, and ſo were the beſiegers: Neither had the latter intrenching tools to aſſiſt them in making approaches. But the ingenuity of a colonel Maham quickly deviſed a method of reducing the fort, as unexpected as it was efficacious. Under his direction a work upon an unuſual plan was ſpeedily conſtructed which overlooked the fort. Upon the top of this work American rifle-men were poſted, who fired at every one in the garriſon who ventured to make his appearance, and ſeldom miſſed their aim: Preparations being made at the ſame time for ſtorming, the commanding officer made overtures for capitulating upon honourable terms. Theſe were readily granted: And Fort Watſon was ſurrendered on the twenty-third of April. After this exploit, Lee and Marion receiving intelligence that colonel Watſon, with five hundred men, was on his march through that part of the country to reinforce lord Rawdon at Camden, took the reſolution of endeavouring to obſtruct his progreſs. They accordingly ſeized the paſſes upon the different creeks and rivers in his way, and guarded them ſo effectually, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of returning down the Santee, and paſſing it near its mouth. By this interrup-

April.

Fort Watſon ſurrenders to the Americans.

A detachment under colonel Watſon joins lord Rawdon at Camden.

tion much time was loſt, and many hardſhips were encountered in marching through the ſwamps and ſunken grounds: Colonel Watſon, however, perſevered, and proceeding up the ſouth ſide of the Santee, paſſed it again, a little below the confluence of its two great branches, the Congaree and Wateree, and arrived at Camden, with his detachment, on the ſeventh of May.

The victory at Hobkirk's Hill, like that at Guildford Court-houſe, although moſt honourable and glorious to the officers who commanded, and the troops that were engaged, produced no conſequences beneficial to the Britiſh intereſt. The general diſaffection of the province ſtill continued; the force under general Greene, although diminiſhed, was yet reſpectable; and the American partiſans were more than ever active in making predatory incurſions into various parts of the province, aſſaulting the weakeſt Britiſh poſts, waylaying convoys of proviſion, and interrupting the communication between Camden and Charleſtown. Lord Rawdon, therefore, even in the moment of ſucceſs, ſaw the neceſſity of abandoning Camden, and contracting the Britiſh poſts within a narrower compaſs. But as he was now joined by the reinforcement under Watſon, which replaced the loſs of men ſuſtained in the action, he gallantly reſolved to make one effort more, before he evacuated his poſt, to ſtrike a blow at general Greene, who, after remaining ſome days at Rugeley's Mills to collect his ſtragglers, paſſed the Wateree, and encamped behind Twenty-five Mile Creek. Lord Rawdon had good information of the nature of the ground where Greene was encamped, and thought that by making a circuit, and getting into his rear, an attack might be made with great proſpect of ſucceſs. Accordingly, with this view he marched from Camden in the night ſucceeding the day on which colonel Watſon arrived. But general Greene had by this time decamped from Twenty-five Mile Creek. Having received information of the arrival of Watſon's corps, and concluding that lord Rawdon, thus reinforced, would immediately attempt to ſtrike at him, he changed his poſition for another at a greater diſtance, much ſtronger, and more eaſily defended. Intelligence of this movement being brought to lord Rawdon, while on his march, he proceeded along the direct road to general Greene's new encampment, where he arrived the next day. After driving in his piquets, and examining every point of his ſituation, he found it too ſtrong to be attempted without ſuffering ſuch a loſs as could not be compenſated by a victory. Under ſuch circumſtances, his lordſhip relinquiſhed his deſign of attacking the American army, and on the ſame day returned to Camden. On the ninth of May ſuch ſtores were deſtroyed as could not be removed, and on the tenth Camden was evacuated; lord Rawdon retiring by eaſy marches towards Nelſon's Ferry, in order to give time to as many of the loyal inhabitants, as choſe to accompany him, to carry off their effects and moveable property. The Britiſh army completed its paſſage at Nelſon's Ferry, by the evening of the fourteenth, and from thence proceeded to Monk's Corner, for the greater ſecurity of Charleſtown, the garriſon of which, its works being at that time unfiniſhed, was inſufficient for its defence. In the mean time the enemy's detachments were too ſucceſsful in reducing ſeveral of the Britiſh outpoſts. Fort Motte, on the Congaree, after a brave defence, was ſurrendered to Lee and Marion, on the eleventh of May: About the ſame time, Sumpter poſſeſſed himſelf of Orangeburgh; and on the fifteenth Lee reduced Fort Granby.

Lord Rawdon, after various efforts to bring general Greene to an engagement, retires from Camden; and proceeds to Monk's Corner.

Britiſh outpoſts reduced by the Americans.

General Greene having ſo far ſucceeded in his views upon the north and north-eaſt parts of South Carolina, and obliged lord Rawdon to retire to Monk's Corner, now turned his attention to the weſtern frontier, and with equal facility hoped to reduce the Britiſh poſts at Auguſta in Georgia, and Ninety-ſix in South Carolina. Orders had been previouſly diſpatched to colonel Pickens to aſſemble the militia of Ninety-ſix; and immediately after Lee's ſucceſs at Fort Granby, he, with his legion, was detached to join Pickens, and lay ſiege to Auguſta, whilſt general Greene, with the main army, marched to inveſt Ninety-ſix. Lee having joined Pickens, their firſt attempt was againſt Fort Golphin, ſituated on the banks of the Savannah, ſome miles below Auguſta, which was ſpeedily reduced by a detachment from Lee's legion. The two commanders now advanced with their whole force againſt Fort Cornwallis, at Auguſta, and began to make regular approaches, and inveſt it in form. At Auguſta lieutenant-colonel Browne ſtill commanded, and prepared to defend it with that ſpirit and reſolution which he had manifeſted on a former occaſion, when beſieged by colonel Clarke. Although the works of the beſiegers were puſhed on with vigour, and their approaches made with judgment, no advantage was for a conſiderable time obtained over the vigilant and brave commander of the garriſon. But at length the ſame mode of attack, the efficacy of which had been tried at Fort Watſon, was here alſo adopted with ſucceſs. Works were conſtructed of a ſufficient height to overlook the fort, from whence rifle-men fired with ſuch unerring aim, that the artillery-men were either killed or driven from their guns; and none of the garriſon could ſhew themſelves without being ſhot down. Neceſſity, therefore, at laſt obliged colonel Browne to capitulate, and the fort, after a gallant defence, was ſurrendered on the fifth of June.

June.
Auguſta ſurrendered to the Americans.

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State of the Britiſh Army at Ninety-ſix—The Siege of Ninety-ſix raiſed—Lord Rawdon, having arrived at Ninety-ſix, purſues General Greene—Lord Rawdon, with Half his Force, marches to the Congaree—Retires to Orangeburgh — Hoſtilities ſuſpended by the intenſe Heat of the Seaſon—Lord Rawdon, on account of his Health, embarks for Europe—Action between Colonel Stuart and General Greene, near the Eutaw Springs—Victory in this Action claimed by both Parties.

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IN the mean time general Greene had laid ſiege to Ninety-ſix. Nintety-ſix took its name from being that number of miles diſtant from the town of Kecowee, in the Cherokee country, and, like other villages on the frontiers of the colonies, was originally ſurrounded with a ſtockade for the protection of the inhabitants againſt any ſudden aſſault from the Indians. After it came into the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops, in the year 1780, ſome other works were added, the principal of which, called, from its form, the Star, was on the right of the village. It was planned by lieutenant Haldane of the engineers, aid-du-camp to lord Cornwallis, and conſiſted of ſixteen ſalient and re-entering angles, with a dry ditch, fraiſe, and abbatis: But the whole of the works were in an unfiniſhed ſtate at the commencement of the ſiege.

State of the Britiſh garriſon at Ninety-ſix.

When lord Rawdon found himſelf under the neceſſity of evacuating Camden, and abandoning the upper country of South Carolina, he was well aware of the danger of Ninety-ſix, from the difficulty of ſending ſuccours to ſupport a poſt at ſuch a diſtance: Repeated expreſſes were therefore ſent to lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who commanded the garriſon, directing him to evacuate his poſt, retire to Auguſta, and, after joining his force with that under colonel Browne, and taking the command of the whole, to act according to his diſcretion, and as circumſtances ſhould point out. In caſe theſe ſhould fail, lord Rawdon had alſo taken the precaution of directing lieutenant-colonel Balfour to diſpatch other meſſengers from Charleſtown with the like orders. But ſo univerſal was the diſaffection of the inhabitants of the country, and ſo well had they guarded all the roads and paths leading to Ninety-ſix, that not one of all the meſſengers arrived in ſafety. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger was therefore totally ignorant of the ſituation of the army under lord Rawdon; nor had he any information of the action at Hobkirk's Hill, and the ſubſequent evacuation of Camden, but from an American officer who happened to be made priſoner: But he knew well the diſaffection of the province, and the inveterately hoſtile diſpoſition of the inhabitants around him, and had alſo reaſon to apprehend an attack from the American army. In this ſtate of uncertainty, with reſpect to the poſſibility of obtaining ſuccours, and under ſuch circumſtances of apprehended danger, he thought it incumbent upon him to put his poſt in the beſt poſſible ſtate of defence. The whole garriſon was immediately ſet to work, the officers cheerfully ſharing in the labour with the common ſoldiers; and by their united exertions a bank of earth parapet high was in a ſhort time thrown up round the ſtockade; and the whole ſtrengthened by an abbatis. Block-houſes were alſo erected in the village, traverſes made for the ſecurity of the roops, and caponiers or covered communications between different parts of the works. It has been already obſerved that a regular work called the Star defended the right of the village; and on the

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left of it was a valley, through which ran a rivulet that ſupplied the place with water. The county priſon having been fortified, commanded the valley on one ſide, and a ſtockade that was erected on the left covered it on the other. But for the defence of all theſe works there were only three pieces of artillery, and even for theſe a ſcanty and inſufficient ſupply of ammunition. The garriſon itſelf was not numerous: It conſiſted of about one hundred and fifty men of the firſt battalion of Delancey's, and two hundred of the ſecond battalion of New Jerſey volunteers, both of them provincial regiments, and raiſed ſince the commencement of the war. But as they had been conſtantly employed in active ſervice ſince the year 1776, they were at this time, for their number, perhaps equal to any troops. To theſe were added about two hundred loyal militia under a colonel King: And to their honour it is to be related, that although they had the Britiſh commander's permiſſion to quit the garriſon, and, being provided with good horſes, might have effected their retreat either to Charleſtown or Georgia, they nobly diſdained to quit their poſt in the hour of danger, and turning their horſes looſe in the woods, determined to aſſiſt in the defence of the place, and abide the fate of the garriſon. The Britiſh commander was induced to offer this permiſſion both from motives of policy and humanity: He apprehended a ſcarcity of proviſions, if the ſiege ſhould be ſpun out to any length; and from what had happened too often already, he had reaſon to fear, that, ſhould the place ultimately fall, even the ſolemn engagements of a capitulation would not be ſufficient to ſecure to the militia their ſtipulated rights, nor protect them againſt the vengeance of their countrymen.

Such was the ſtate of the garriſon at Ninety-ſix, and in this condition were the works, when the advance of the American army appeared in ſight of it on the twenty-firſt of May. In the evening general Greene encamped his whole army in a wood within cannon-ſhot of the village, and in the night, as if he meant to intimidate the garriſon by his boldneſs, two works were thrown up within ſeventy paces of the fortifications. Had he been acting againſt a raw and undiſciplined militia, his temerity might have been excuſable; but both the Britiſh commander and his garriſon had ſeen too much ſervice not to take advantage of ſo raſh a proceeding, and to teach him to his coſt to ſhew them a little more reſpect. By eleven in the morning of the twenty-ſecond of May, a platform was prepared in one of the ſalient angles of the Star, oppoſite to the American works, for receiving the three pieces of artillery, and under cover of an inceſſant cannonade from them, and continued peals of muſquetry from the parapet, a party of only thirty men ſallied from the Star, entered the American works, and put to the bayonet every one they found. Theſe were followed by another party from the loyal militia, who quickly demoliſhed the works, and loaded ſeveral negroes with the intrenching tools of the Americans. Although general Greene put his whole army in motion to ſupport his people in the trenches, the buſineſs was ſo expeditiouſly performed, that both the detachments returned within the fortifications without ſuſtaining any other injury than the loſs of the officer * who gallantly commanded the firſt party that ſallied forth. To the regret of the whole garriſon, he received a wound, of which he died the following night.

In the night of the twenty-third of May, the Americans again broke ground; but at the reſpectful diſtance of four hundred yards, and beyond a ravine. From this point they continued to make regular and guarded approaches; but worked ſo expeditiouſly, that although they were frequently interrupted by ſallies from the garriſon, they had completed their ſecond parallel by the third of June.

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* Lieutenant Roney of Delancey's ſecond battalion.

The adjutant-general of the American army was now ſent to ſummon the Britiſh commander to ſurrender his poſt. He preſented to the officer who received him, a paper ſigned by himſelf; diſplaying in pompous language the late ſucceſſes of the Americans; declaring that the garriſon had every thing to hope from their generoſity, and to fear from their reſentment; calling upon the commanding officer to ſurrender without delay; and threatening, if he perſiſted in a fruitleſs reſiſtance, to make him perſonally reſponſible for all the conſequences. In anſwer to a paper of ſo extraordinary a nature, not ſigned by general Greene, the Britiſh commander contented himſelf with directing a meſſage to be delivered to the American adjutant-general, importing, that lieutenant-colonel Cruger was determined to defend his poſt to the laſt extremity, and that general Greene's promiſes and threats were alike indifferent to him.

The American batteries were now opened from their ſecond parallel, and a heavy croſs fire commenced, which enfiladed ſeveral of the works. The enemy alſo puſhed on a ſap againſt the Star, and continued to advance their batteries, one of which, conſtructed of gabions, was erected within thirty-five yards of the abbatis, and raiſed forty feet high, ſo as to overlook the works of the garriſon. Riflemen poſted upon the top of it did conſiderable execution, and proved ſo incommodious to thoſe who worked the artillery, that the guns of the Star were neceſſarily unmanned during the day, and uſed only in the night. The garriſon tried to burn the battery by firing heated ſhot, but, from the want of furnaces, did not ſucceed; and the only precaution which they could take againſt this deſtructive fire of the rifle-men, was to crown their parapets with ſand-bags. Loop-holes were however left for the loyal militia to fire through; and with their rifles they alſo did conſiderable execution. An attempt was made by the enemy to ſet fire to the barracks by ſhooting African arrows: But the Britiſh commander fruſtrated their deſign by directing all the buildings to be unroofed, a meaſure from which both officers and men were expoſed, during the remainder of the ſiege, to all the pernicious effects of the night-air: Nevertheleſs, ſuch was their zeal for the ſervice, and ſuch their confidence in lieutenant-colonel Cruger, that his order was obeyed with the utmoſt alacrity.

The garriſon were now deſtined to have their feelings wounded by an exhibition which they were not prepared to expect. This was the contrivance of lieutenant-colonel Lee. When he joined the American army on the eighth of June, after the reduction of Auguſta, he brought with him the Britiſh priſoners; and either to gratify his vanity, or for ſome other cauſe, hitherto unexplained, marched them paſt Ninety-ſix, in full view of the garriſon, with all the parade of martial muſic, and preceded by a Britiſh ſtandard reverſed. If the intention was to diſcourage the garriſon, it failed entirely of its effect, or rather produced an oppoſite one. Fired with indignation at a ſight ſo unbecoming, they determined to encounter every danger, and endure every hardſhip, rather than fall into the hands of an enemy capable of diſgracing their ſucceſs by ſo wanton an inſult offered to their priſoners.

The American army, ſtrengthened by the junction of the troops who had reduced Auguſta, began to make approaches againſt the ſtockade fort on the left of the village, which kept open the communication with the water. The operations on this ſide were entruſted to lieutenant-colonel Lee, whilſt general Greene continued to direct thoſe againſt the Star. In the night of the ninth of June a ſortie was made by two ſtrong parties of the garriſon. The party to the right entering the enemy's trenches, penetrated to a battery of four guns, which nothing but the want of ſpikes and hammers prevented them from deſtroying. Here they diſcovered the mouth of a mine intended to be carried under a curtain of the Star, and had nearly taken the chief engineer of the Americans, who happened to be viewing it at the time of the ſortie. In making his eſcape he was wounded. The other diviſion upon the left fell in with the covering party of the Americans, put a number of them to the bayonet, and made their commanding officer priſoner. Although lieutenant-colonel Lee broke ground at a reſpectful diſtance from the ſtockade on the left, and made his approaches with great caution, he nevertheleſs loſt a conſiderable number of men. Chagrined with his loſſes, and vexed at meeting with ſo much oppoſition, he ſuffered his impatience, on the twelfth of June, to get the better of his diſcretion. At eleven in the forenoon he directed a ſerjeant and ſix men to advance with lighted combuſtibles, and ſet fire to the abbatis: The party advanced, and attempted to execute their orders, but not one of them returned. The garriſon fired upon them, and the whole fell a ſacrifice to the raſhneſs of their commander, who was obliged to ſolicit a truce to bury the dead. When the cannon arrived from Auguſta which this officer had directed to be ſent after him, he redoubled his efforts; and by the ſeventeenth of June the ſtockade fort was ſo completely enfiladed by a triangular fire, that, being no longer tenable, it was evacuated in the night, and without loſs.

About this time the ſufferings of the garriſon began to be extreme for want of water. A well had been dug in the Star with great labour, but no water was to be found; nor was any to be procured except from the rivulet on the left, within piſtol-ſhot of the enemy. In the day nothing could be done: But in the night, naked negroes being ſent out, whoſe bodies in the darkneſs were not diſtinguiſhable from the trees that ſurrounded them, with great hazard to themſelves, brought in a ſcanty ſupply. That the defence of the place, under ſuch circumſtances of diſtreſs, could not be much longer protracted, appears obvious enough. But the Britiſh commander, even in this extremity, was not diſcouraged. He placed his confidence in the well-known zeal, activity, and enterpriſe of lord Rawdon, who he did not doubt would come to his relief the moment he could do it with propriety, and in the mean time, under all his difficulties, he hoped to maintain his poſt until his arrival. Whilſt the Britiſh commander was exerting himſelf to infuſe ſimilar ſentiments into the garriſon, and encouraging them to perſevere, an American loyaliſt, in open day, under the fire of the enemy, having rode through their piquets and reached the village, delivered a verbal meſſage from lord Rawdon, "that he had paſſed Orangeburgh, and was in "full march to raiſe the ſiege." At ſuch a criſis, the proſpect of ſpeedy relief diſpelled the cloud from every brow: An unuſual degree of animation ſucceeded: Their preſent diſtreſſes were no longer thought of; and the only object that occupied their minds, was the ſucceſſful defence of the place until the joyful period of lord Rawdon's arrival.

Although that officer, upon receiving intelligence of the ſiege of Ninety-ſix, felt the ſtrongeſt inclination to relieve it, an object of ſtill greater importance, the ſecurity of Charleſtown in the preſent diſaffected ſtate of the country, demanded his firſt attention, and obliged him for ſome time to remain near the ſea-coaſt. Fortunately, however, the arrival of three regiments from Ireland on the third of June, placed the one in a ſtate of ſafety, and enabled him to march to the relief of the other. On the ſeventh of June he left Charleſtown, taking with him the flank companies of the three newly-arrived regiments, and being joined by the troops from Monk's Corner, proceeded on his march with all the expedition that the heat of the weather, then beginning to be intenſe, would permit. The route he took inclined a little to the right of the direct road to Ninety-ſix, and was choſen for the ſake of enabling him to get between general Greene and his detachments on the Congaree. June.

His

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His whole force amounted to near eighteen hundred infantry, and one hundred and fifty cavalry.

General Greene had regular intelligence of lord Rawdon's movements; and finding from his progreſs that it would be impoſſible to reduce Ninety-ſix by regular approaches before his arrival, determined to hazard an aſſault. Although the American works were not entirely finiſhed, they were in a ſtate of great forwardneſs: Their third parallel was completed, and a mine and two trenches had been puſhed on within a few feet of the ditch. In the morning of the eighteenth of June a heavy cannonade was begun from all the American batteries: At noon two parties advanced under cover of the trenches which approached neareſt to the works, and made lodgments in the ditch: Theſe were immediately followed by other parties with hooks to draw down the ſand-bags, and tools to reduce the parapet. The rifle-men in the mean time, poſted on their battery, were ready to take aim at every Britiſh ſoldier that appeared; and the Virginia and Maryland brigades, having manned the lines of the third parallel, fired from them by platoons. The right flank of the enemy was expoſed to the fire of a three-pounder, as well as to that of the block-houſes in the village; and major Greene, who commanded in the Star, with much honour to himſelf, and benefit to the ſervice, from the beginning of the ſiege, had his detachment ready to receive them on the parapet with bayonets and ſpears. As the main body of the American army did not advance beyond the third parallel, and was contented with ſupporting the parties in the ditch by an inceſſant fire from the trenches, the garriſon determined to put a ſpeedy period to the aſſault by an effort of gallantry which confounded the enemy. Two parties of thirty men each, one under captain Campbell of the New Jerſey volunteers, and the other under captain French of Delancey's, iſſued from the ſally-port in the rear of the Star, entered the ditch, and taking oppoſite directions, charged the Americans who had made the lodgment with ſuch impetuoſity, that they drove every thing before them until they met in the oppoſite quarter. The bayonet being the only weapon uſed, the carnage was great: Even the American accounts admit that two-thirds of their people who entered the ditch were either killed or wounded. General Greene, ſeeing it uſeleſs any longer to continue ſo hopeleſs an attempt, called off his troops, and in the evening of the following day finally raiſed the ſiege. His baggage having been previouſly ſent off, his army marched with great expedition, and on the twentieth croſſed the Saluda. The loſs of the enemy, during the ſiege, according to their own accounts, amounted to one hundred and ſixty-ſix men, including one colonel, three captains, and five lieutenants: But as the loſs of the militia, who, it is ſaid, on this occaſion bore the proportion of three to one to the troops in the pay of congreſs, was not included in their returns, their total loſs muſt have been much greater. That of the garriſon amounted to twenty-ſeven killed, and fifty-eight wounded. Lieutenant Roney was the only commiſſioned officer killed; and captains French and Smith of Delancey's, with captain Barbarie and lieutenant Hatton of the New Jerſey volunteers, were amongſt the wounded. On the twenty-firſt of June in the morning lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-ſix, and when he found that general Greene had retreated acroſs the Saluda, neither the heat of the weather nor the fatigue of the troops, after ſo long a march, prevented his lordſhip from ſetting out in purſuit of him the ſame evening. But ſo rapid was the flight of the Americans, that he ſoon perceived there was little proſpect of overtaking them. Nevertheleſs the purſuit, under many wants, and the rage of a burning ſun, was continued as far as the banks of the Enoree, when his lordſhip, finding it in vain to proceed any farther, returned towards Ninety-ſix. As the poſt of Ninety-ſix was now to be evacuated,

The ſiege of Ninety-ſix raiſed.

Lord Rawdon, having arrived at Ninety-ſix, purſues general Greene.

being without the limits to which the Britiſh commanders, from recent circumſtances, had determined to confine their defence, lord Rawdon thought it neceſſary to pay all due attention to the loyal inhabitants who had remained faithful to their engagements. He convened the principal perſons amongſt them, and offered, if they choſe to remain, and would undertake the defence of their diſtrict againſt their own diſaffected inhabitants, to leave a party for their countenance and aſſiſtance, and from time to time to ſend ſuch reinforcements from the Congaree as might be equal to any force that general Greene could ſpare for invading them; but if they were unwilling to remain, he promiſed that care ſhould be taken for the removal of them and their families within the new frontier about to be eſtabliſhed. The inhabitants accepted the laſt of theſe propoſals: And in order effectually to grant that protection which he had promiſed, lord Rawdon left more than half his force with lieutenant-colonel Cruger, to eſcort them when they ſhould be ready to move, whilſt he, with eight hundred infantry, and ſixty cavalry, marched towards the Congaree.

Lord Rawdon, with half his force, marches to the Congaree.

Although general Greene, in his retreat from Ninety-ſix, had paſſed not only the Enoree, but Tyger and Broad Rivers, no ſooner did he hear that lord Rawdon had divided his force, than he returned, with a view of interrupting his lordſhip's operations on the Congaree, where it was ſuppoſed he meant to eſtabliſh a poſt. Lord Rawdon, it is probable, would not have undertaken his march to that part of the country with ſo diminiſhed a force, had he not expected to be met there by a ſtrong corps from Charleſtown, which he had at firſt ordered to take poſt at Orangeburgh, and afterwards to join him upon the Congaree at an appointed time. From ſome cauſe or other, this corps, after it had begun its march, was recalled by orders from Charleſtown; and, unfortunately, the letter from the commanding officer, acquainting lord Rawdon with his recal, and the impoſſibility of meeting him at the time appointed, was intercepted and carried to general Greene. Upon the receipt of this letter he preſſed forward on his march with redoubled expedition, hoping to obtain ſome advantage over lord Rawdon, whilſt he waited for a reinforcement that was not to join him. Soon after his lordſhip's arrival at the Congaree, one of his foraging parties was ſurpriſed by Lee's legion, and about forty cavalry were made priſoners. The appearance of the enemy's light troops in that quarter of the country, quickly convinced his lordſhip that general Greene's army was at no great diſtance; and as he had not been joined by his reinforcement at the appointed time, he thought it neceſſary to take meaſures for his own ſecurity. Accordingly he retired from the Congaree, and marched for Orangeburgh, where he expected to meet the reinforcement from Charleſtown. After forcing his paſſage at noon day, in the face of the enemy, over a creek, the bridges of which were broken down and its fords guarded by Lee's legion, he without further moleſtation arrived at Orangeburgh, and was joined the next day by lieutenant-colonel Stuart, with the third regiment, from Charleſtown.

Retires to Orangeburgh.

General Greene, finding that lord Rawdon by his activity and enterpriſe had extricated himſelf from the danger to which he was expoſed, collected all the militia he could, and advanced with his army within five miles of the Britiſh encampment, which at the head of his cavalry he reconnoitred in the evening, lord Rawdon giving him no interruption, as he wiſhed for nothing more than an attack in his preſent poſition. But the American commander, inſtead of preparing for an attack, decamped in the night, and retiring towards the Congaree, had paſſed that river before lord Rawdon was apprized of his retreat. It is probable that general Greene's retreat was haſtened by intelligence received about this time, that lieutenant-colonel Crüger, after evacuating Ninety-ſix, and conducting the loyal inhabitants and their families ſafely within the Britiſh poſts, was advancing to join lord Rawdon with the reſt of the army. Whilſt the main American army retired acroſs the Congaree, Sumpter, Lee, and Marion, with their reſpective corps, were detached by different routes to the lower part of the country, for the purpoſe of haraſſing the Britiſh outpoſts, and waylaying their convoys. They ſucceeded in taking ſome waggons with baggage and ſtores, but failed in an attempt upon the nineteenth regiment at Monk's Corner.

July. Hoſtilities ſuſpended by the intenſe heat of the ſeaſon.

The weather now became ſo intenſely hot, that hoſtilities for ſome time were neceſſarily ſuſpended: General Greene retired with his army to the high hills of Santee, where he was ſoon afterwards joined by the different corps under Lee, Sumpter, and Marion; and lord Rawdon, on account of ill health, availed himſelf, in this interval of inaction, of his leave of abſence obtained ſome time before, and embarked for Europe. At his departure, the command of the Britiſh troops in the field devolved on lieutenant-colonel Stuart of the third regiment, or Buffs.

Lord Rawdon, on account of his health, embarks for Europe.

Although general Greene in the courſe of the preſent year had been driven from South Carolina into Virginia, was afterwards defeated in two general engagements, and finally obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Ninety-ſix, and fly with great precipitation before the Britiſh army; yet, through his own firmneſs and perſeverance, the ſucceſſes of his detachments againſt the Britiſh outpoſts, and the advantages derived from the general diſaffection of the inhabitants to the Britiſh cauſe, he ſucceeded in the main object of the campaign. The Britiſh troops, haraſſed and wearied out with the defence of an extenſive frontier, to which their force was unequal without the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants, were obliged in the end to abandon to him the greateſt part of South Carolina; the limits of their poſſeſſions being now confined within the three great rivers Santee, Congaree, and Ediſto; and before the end of the year, as will preſently be ſeen, their limits were contracted within a much narrower compaſs.

After the retreat of the Americans from Orangeburgh to the high hills of Santee, the Britiſh army under colonel Stuart moved forward to the Congaree, and encamped near the junction of that river with the Wateree. In the mean time general Greene was reinforced by a brigade of continental troops from North Carolina, and intent upon proſecuting his plan for the recovery of South Carolina, put his forces in motion as ſoon as the extreme heat began to abate. On the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt he marched from the high hills of Santee with an intention to give battle to the Britiſh army, and proceeding up the northern banks of the Wateree, croſſed it near Camden. From thence he directed his march to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree, where he was joined by general Pickens with the militia of Ninety-ſix, and by the South Carolina ſtate troops under colonel Henderſon.

Auguſt.

The Britiſh commander, upon receiving intelligence that general Greene was on his march to attack him, fell back with his whole force to Eutaw, about forty miles from the Congaree. This movement was made for the purpoſe of meeting a convoy of proviſions then on the road from Charleſtown, rather than weaken the army whilſt an attack was expected, by ſending off ſo ſtrong an eſcort as would have been neceſſary for ſecuring its ſafe arrival. General Greene having paſſed the Congaree, continued to advance towards Eutaw, but by very ſlow marches, that he might give time to general Marion to join him with his brigade of militia. This junction was made on the ſeventh of September about ſeven miles from Eutaw; and at four in the morning of the following day, general Greene marched with his whole force to make his projected attack. At ſix o'clock in the morning came in two deſerters from Greene's army with intelligence that he was on his march to attack the Britiſh army at Eutaw. Unfortunately their report was neither credited nor inquired into; but they themſelves ſent to priſon. A party of four hundred men without arms, with a ſmall guard to cover them, were ſent in ſearch of vegetables in the very road on which the deſerters gave information that general Greene was marching. The event proved that the intelligence given by the deſerters was well founded. The unarmed rooting party and their ſmall guard, making at the leaſt a third part of colonel Stuart's force, fell an eaſy prey to Greene's army; a few ſtraggling horſemen that eſcaped, apprized the Britiſh commander of the enemy's approach, at the ſame time infuſing a degree of panic into all with whom they communicated. The Britiſh were drawn up acroſs the road on the heights near the Eutaw Springs. The flank battalion, commanded by major Majoribanks, covered the right flank of the army, his right being upon a rivulet with an interval of a hundred paces from the water; his left to the road was concealed by a very thick hedge. Two pieces of artillery, with a covering party of infantry, occupied the road. The remainder of the Britiſh force extended to the left of the road, in an oblique direction. The front line of the American army was compoſed of four battalions of militia; the ſecond line, of three brigades of continental troops; colonel Lee, with his legion, covered their right flank, and colonel Henderſon, with the South Carolina ſtate troops, their left: Colonel Waſhington, with his cavalry and the Delaware troops, formed their body of reſerve. Two three-pounders were in front of their line, and two ſix-pounders with the ſecond line. The legion and the ſtate troops formed their advanced guard, and were to retreat on their flanks when the Britiſh ſhould form. The enemy attacked with great impetuoſity; the chief impreſſion ſeemed to be deſigned againſt the artillery on the road, and to turn the left of the Britiſh. The preſſure of the enemy's fire was ſuch as compelled the

Action between colonel Stuart and general Greene near the Eutaw Springs.

third regiment, or Buffs, to give way, the regiment being compoſed of new troops. The remains of thoſe veteran corps, the ſixty-third and ſixty-fourth regiments, who had ſerved the whole of the war, loſt none of their fame in this action. They ruſhed with bayonets into the midſt of the enemy; nor did they give ground, until overpowered by numbers and ſevere ſlaughter. Various was the ſucceſs in the centre and on the right. At this time colonel Waſhington, endeavouring to paſs through the right of the flank corps and the rivulet, led his cavalry with great gallantry to the charge. The flank corps received this charge with great ſteadineſs. At the firſt fire, colonel Waſhington was wounded and taken priſoner, and ſeveral of his men fell, which prevented a ſimilar attack. The artillery on both ſides was ſeveral times taken and retaken.

At this time the flank battalion, whoſe poſt had been paſſed undiſcovered by the main body of the enemy, wheeled round, and coming in the rear of the enemy, threw them into confuſion, which being increaſed by a fire from the New York volunteers under the command of major Sheridan, who had taken poſt in a ſtone houſe on the open ground upon the right of the road, decided the action. Inceſſant peals of muſquetry from the windows poured deſtruction upon the enemy, and effectually ſtopped their further progreſs. Although ſeverely checked, the Americans were not diſcouraged, and brought up four ſix-pounders to batter the houſe: But the fire of the detachment within continued to be ſo well ſupported, that the American artillery ſoon became uſeleſs, and moſt of the officers and men that were attached to it, were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the left wing of the Britiſh army having recovered from its confuſion, had again formed the line, and the battle was renewed with great ſpirit in that quarter. The conteſt was obſtinate and bloody; but the Americans were at laſt obliged to retire. For want of cavalry, no purſuit could be made; whilſt that of the enemy, which was numerous, covered their retreat. They were obliged to abandon two of the four pieces of cannon that had been brought up againſt the houſe, and they left behind them, according to their own account, one hundred and thirty-nine of their number killed on the field of battle. Their wounded, which may be ſuppoſed to bear the uſual proportion to the killed, were carried off during the action. About ſixty of the enemy were made priſoners, and amongſt them lieutenant-colonel Waſhington, who commanded their reſerve. The whole loſs of the Americans in this action may be eſtimated at more than ſeven hundred * men, including ſixty commiſſioned officers, of whom ſeventeen were killed and forty-three wounded. The loſs of the Britiſh army was alſo very great; it amounted to eighty-five killed, three hundred and fifty-one wounded, and two hundred and fifty-ſeven miſſing; in all, ſix hundred and ninety-three men, including twenty-nine commiſſioned officers, three of whom were killed, ſixteen wounded, and ten miſſing.

Victory in this action claimed by both parties.

The incidents attending this action gave occaſion to both commanders to claim the victory. General Greene founded his pretenſions upon the retreat of the Britiſh line, and its being purſued to the houſe and open ground in the rear; and moſt aſſuredly, for ſome time, the fortune of the day ſeemed to be entirely in favour of the Americans. The Britiſh commander, on the other hand, reſted his claim of victory upon this ground, that although a temporary advantage had been obtained over part of the Britiſh line, which rendered a retreat neceſſary, yet the troops, who had thus retreated,

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* The account here given does not agree with the returns publiſhed by congreſs: But that return, as given in Tarleton's Appendix, appears, upon the face of it, to be incorrect. The particulars do not make up the ſum total. The number here eſtimated ſuppoſes the wounded to have borne the uſual proportion to the ſlain. The ſlain being left on the field of battle, their number could not be concealed. Ramſay ſtates, that the loſs of general Marion's brigade of militia is not included in the return publiſhed by congreſs.

afterwards formed and renewed the battle with ſo much ſpirit, that the Americans were ultimately obliged to quit the field, and retire to a ſtrong poſition ſeven miles in their rear. This action was nevertheleſs celebrated in America as a great and glorious victory; and in commemoration of it the congreſs voted a Britiſh ſtandard and gold medal to be preſented to general Greene. That it was a bloody, hard-fought action, the loſs on both ſides ſufficiently teſtifies; but that neither party obtained a deciſive advantage over the other, the conduct of both commanders after the action plainly demonſtrates. The Britiſh commander remained upon the ground the night after the action and the following day, without any attempt being made by general Greene to moleſt him; and when he afterwards retired to Monk's Corner for the ſafety and protection of his wounded, the American commander contented himſelf with advancing to the ground left by the Britiſh troops, and ſoon afterwards retreated to his former encampment on the high hills of Santee, placing a large river between him and the Britiſh army. The reaſonable concluſion to be drawn from the conduct of both ſeems to be this, that in the action both armies had ſuffered ſo much, that for ſome time afterwards neither of them was in a ſituation to undertake any thing againſt the other. Indeed this was the laſt action of any conſequence that happened in South Carolina between the king's troops and the Americans: The former, from this time, chiefly confined themſelves to Charleſtown Neck and ſome poſts in its neighbourhood; the ſecurity of that town appearing to be their principal object: And general Greene either was not, or did not think himſelf, in ſufficient force to attempt to reduce it. In this action the Britiſh loſt one field-piece, and took two from the Americans.

CHAP. XLIV.

Operations of the Britiſh Army in Virginia under the Command of General Philips—Deſtruction of American Stores—Death of General Philips—Junction between the Armies under Lord Cornwallis and General Arnold—Charlotteville ſurpriſed by Colonel Tarleton—Stratagem practiſed with Succeſs by Colonel Simcoe on Baron Steuben—Unfavourable Aſpect of American Affairs—Apprehenſion of Sir Henry Clinton for the Safety of New York—Lord Cornwallis croſſes James River, and retires to Portſmouth—Evacuates Portſmouth, and concentrates his Force at York and Glaceſter—Junction of the Forces of Waſhington and Rochambeau—Naval Operations—The French Fleet under Count de Graſſe arrives in the Cheſapeak—Partial Action between the Count de Graſſe and Admiral Graves—New London taken by General Arnold.

CHAP. XLIV.
1781.

AFTER it had been determined to carry the war into the ſouthern colonies, firſt a detachment, as has already been mentioned, under general Leſlie, and another afterwards under general Arnold, amounting to about ſixteen hundred, were ſent by the commander in chief from New York into Virginia, for the double purpoſe of deſtroying the enemy's ſtores, and of aſſiſting, by means of a diverſion, the operations of lord Cornwallis in the two Carolinas; the firſt of which ſervices was performed to a very conſiderable extent. A plan was formed by general Waſhington for entrapping Arnold, and taking him and his whole detachment; which, however, was defeated by the backwardneſs of the French, and the good conduct of the Engliſh admiral.

A reinforcement of two thouſand Britiſh troops, under the command of general Philips, arrived ſafely in the Cheſapeak on the twenty-ſixth of March. The general, being of ſuperior rank to Arnold, now aſſumed the command of the whole Britiſh force in Virginia; and although, after viewing the poſt at Portſmouth, he was of opinion that it could not be rendered ſecure, and was alſo too extenſive to be defended by any number of men that could be ſpared from the other exigencies of the ſervice; yet, as the works that had been begun were in a great ſtate of forwardneſs, he continued to employ the troops upon them until they were finiſhed, which happened about the middle of April. The general being then at liberty to purſue other objects, after leaving a garriſon at Portſmouth, embarked the troops, on the eighteenth of April, on board the ſmalleſt veſſels of the fleet, and proceeded up James River. The object in view was, in the firſt place, to diſperſe a body of militia who were ſaid to have aſſembled at Williamſburgh, the former ſeat of government in Virginia, and afterwards to deſtroy ſuch of the enemy's public ſtores, on the ſouth ſide of James River, as had not fallen within the range of general Arnold's expedition. The army, having landed at Burrel's Ferry, was immediately marched to Williamſburgh; but the militia collected there had already fled. They now proceeded, in different diviſions and detachments, to diſtreſs and weaken the enemy as much as poſſible, by deſtroying all the means by which they might be enabled to ſupport the war. If Virginia had been hitherto favoured, it ſeems to have been determined at this time to inflict upon it a more than common portion of vengeance: And, ſo vulnerable is that province, by the joint operation of a land and naval force, that

Operations of the Britiſh army in Virginia under the command of general Philips.

Deſtruction of American ſtores.

that the Britiſh troops committed the greateſt devaſtations without any ſerious oppoſition, or ſuſtaining any loſs.

General Philips, having proceeded up the river as far as he intended to go, marched his army back to Oſborne's, a village on the banks of James River, and from thence to Bermuda Hundred, oppoſite to City Point, where the fleet was ready to receive him. On the ſecond of May the troops were reimbarked, and the fleet moved ſlowly down the river. As the marquis de la Fayette followed by land with his army, it was thought to have been general Philips's intention, after decoying him to a ſufficient diſtance down the river, to have embraced the firſt favourable breeze of wind, and ſuddenly returning, to have landed above him. By ſuch a manœuvre the marquis de la Fayette would have been ſhut up between York and James River, and to extricate himſelf muſt have riſqued an engagement, or hazarded the loſs of the greateſt part of his force by attempting to paſs either of thoſe rivers in the view of the Britiſh army. But on the ſeventh of May a letter was received from lord Cornwallis, informing the general of his march towards Virginia, and propoſing Peterſburgh as the place where he would wiſh to find the Britiſh army. Upon the receipt of this letter, orders were immediately given for the fleet to move up the river. One diviſion of the army was landed at Brandon, and another proceeded to City Point; and on the ninth both met at Peterſburgh, where they ſurpriſed ſome of the marquis de la Fayette's officers, who had been ſent forward to provide quarters for his army. General Philips at this time lay dangerouſly ill: He had been attacked by a fever ſome few days before, the progreſs of which was ſo rapid, and its ſymptoms ſo malignant, that by the time of the army's arrival at Peterſburgh he was no longer capable of giving orders, and died four days after. By his death the command of the troops devolved again on brigadier-general Arnold.

Death of general Philips.

In the mean time lord Cornwallis had arrived at Halifax on the banks of the Roanoke, within ſixty miles of Peterſburgh. In his march from Wilmington to that place he had met with ſcarcely any interruption, a corps of one hundred and eighty cavalry, and ſixty mounted infantry, that preceded the army under the command of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, being ſufficient to diſperſe any ſmall bodies of militia that were aſſembling in order to obſtruct its progreſs. Colonel Tarleton, in this expedition, was accompanied by that valuable partizan, colonel Hamilton, of the North Carolina regiment; to whom, perhaps, the Britiſh nation owed more than to any other individual loyaliſt in the Britiſh ſervice*.

Junction between the armies under lord Cornwallis and general Arnold.

Lord Cornwallis, having ſent forward Tarleton with the cavalry, and general Arnold having detached Simcoe with the queen's rangers, to take poſſeſſion of the fords on the Nottoway and the Meherrin, the only rivers that intervened, a junction of the two armies took place at Peterſburgh on the twentieth of May. Lord Cornwallis of courſe aſſumed the command of the whole.

It will be remembered, that when the fleet went down James River from Bermuda Hundred, the marquis de la Fayette followed it with his army by land. But as ſoon as it began to return, he marched back with all the diſpatch he could. He rightly judged it to be the intention of general Philips to take poſſeſſion of Peterſburgh, in order to facilitate a junction with earl Cornwallis, and he hoped, by forced marches, to reach that place before him. The expedition with which the Britiſh troops returned, entirely fruſtrated his intention; and upon his arrival at Oſborne's on the ſouth ſide of James River, he found they were already in poſſeſſion of Peterſburgh. Thus foiled in his deſign, he re-croſſed James River, and took a poſition on the north ſide of it, between Richmond and Wilton.

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* At Halifax ſome enormities were committed by the Britiſh that were a diſgrace to the name of man.

CHAP XLIV.
1781.

It ſeems to have been lord Cornwallis's firſt object to endeavour to ſtrike a blow at the marquis; his next, to deſtroy ſuch of the enemy's ſtores as might be within his reach after the American army had been either defeated or obliged to retire; and laſtly, after proceeding to the execution of theſe objects, which probably might be accompliſhed by the time he could hear from New York, to keep himſelf diſengaged from any operation that could interfere with the plan that might be deviſed by the commander in chief for the further proſecution of the campaign. Having ſettled his own temporary plan of operations, lord Cornwallis marched from Peterſburgh on the twenty-fourth of May, and croſſed James River at Weſtover, about thirty miles below Fayette's encampment* The British army was already greatly ſuperior to the continental force in Virginia, and about this time it was conſiderably increaſed by the arrival of two Britiſh regiments, and two battalions of Anſpach troops from New York ſent by the commander in chief (who had not yet received intelligence of lord Cornwallis's arrival) to reinforce general Philips, under an apprehenſion that when the Americans heard of lord Cornwallis's march to the northward, they might make ſome attempt to overpower general Philips before a junction of the two armies could be effected. Of this reinforcement the forty-third regiment alone joined the army: The other Britiſh regiment, and the two battalions of Anſpach, were ſent to ſtrengthen the garriſon at Portſmouth.

The force under Fayette being ſo much inferior to that which was oppoſed to him, he decamped from the neighbourhood of Richmond, as ſoon as he heard that lord Cornwallis had croſſed James River, and retired towards the back-country, inclining his route to the northward, that he might be in readineſs to form a junction with general Wayne, who was on his march through Maryland to reinforce him with eight hundred men of the Penſylvania line. The Britiſh army for ſome time followed the route taken by the marquis de la Fayette, and in this direction proceeded as far as the upper part of Hanover County, deſtroying in their way whatever public ſtores they found. But Fayette's movements were ſo rapid, that lord Cornwallis ſoon found it would be in vain to follow him, and impoſſible to prevent a junction between him and general Wayne: His lordſhip's attention was therefore directed to other objects more attainable, which the intelligence received on his march had preſented to his view.

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* The channel of the river where the Britiſh croſſed exceeded two miles. The paſſage was effected by ſwimming the horſes over a part, and wading through the reſt.

One of theſe objects was to break up the ſeſſion of the general aſſembly, then met under a guard at Charlotteville, for the purpoſe of voting taxes, draughting the militia, and making an addition to the regular force of the ſtate. The other object was to ſtrike at the baron Steuben, who was ſaid to be at the Point of Fork, on James River, guarding a conſiderable quantity of ſtores, with a ſtrong detachment of troops called eighteen-months men *, and militia. To accompliſh the firſt, Tarleton was detached with one hundred and eighty cavalry of the legion, and ſeventy mounted infantry of the twenty-third regiment, under the command of captain Champagne†: And the execution of the laſt was entruſted to lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with the queen's rangers, and the ſecond battalion of the ſeventy-firſt regiment, commanded by captain Hutchinſon, the whole

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* So called from the time for which they engaged to ſerve.

† The 71ſt regiment was ordered to accompany Tarleton on this ſervice; but upon receiving the order the officers drew up a remonſtrance, and preſented it to lord Cornwallis, ſtating their unwillingneſs to ſerve under Tarleton, from a recollection of his conduct at the Cowpens, where the other battalion of the 71ſt was taken by Morgan. In conſequence of this remonſtrance, the 71ſt regiment was attached to colonel Simcoe.

detachment amounting to five hundred men. Tarleton proceeded to Charlotteville, with great expedition; and on his way overtook twelve waggons loaded with arms and clothing for the uſe of the army in South Carolina, all of which were burnt and deſtroyed. The Revanna, a branch of James River, waſhes the foot of the hill on which Charlotteville ſtands. Through this river Tarleton charged at the head of his cavalry, and took or diſperſed the guards ſtationed on the oppoſite bank. With the like rapidity he entered the town, and took priſoners ſeven members of the aſſembly. The reſt made their eſcape. So unexpected was Tarleton's viſit, that the enemy had not time to remove their ſtores. A conſiderable quantity was found, and the whole deſtroyed *. Tarleton, after performing this ſervice, proceeded down the Revanna, according to his orders, to co-operate with Simcoe, if he ſhould have occaſion for his aſſiſtance. The Point of Fork, to which lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was directing his march, is ſo called from being the point of land that intervenes at the conflux of the two great branches of James River, the Fluvanna and Revanna. The united ſtreams from the point of junction take the name of James River. As the greateſt part of his detachment conſiſted of infantry, his progreſs could not be ſo rapid as that of Tarleton; but it was as expeditious as the nature of his detachment would admit: And by the prudent precautions taken for ſecuring every perſon met or ſeen on the road, he effectually concealed his march from the enemy. By ſome of his priſoners he found that baron Steuben was appriſed of Tarleton's march, but knew nothing of Simcoe's; and from the ſame perſons he learnt that the baron had begun to tranſport his ſtores to the ſouth

Charlotteville ſurpriſed by colonel Tarleton.

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* Stores deſtroyed at Charlotteville:—

1000 new firelocks, made at Fredericſburgh.
Upwards of 400 barrels of gunpowder.
Several hogſheads of tobacco, and ſome continental clothing.

ſide of the Fluvanna, and meant to follow them with his whole detachment. Upon receiving this intelligence, Simcoe preſſed forward with ſtill greater celerity, hoping at leaſt to cut off the baron's rear-guard before it had time to paſs the river. But upon his arrival at the Point of Fork, he found that not only the ſtores, but the baron's whole force, had paſſed the river, except about thirty perſons then on the bank ready to embark. Theſe were immediately ſecured by the cavalry. As both the enemy's ſtores and troops were now completely out of Simcoe's reach, a deep and unfordable river intervening, with the boats all ſecured on the other ſide, he conceived the deſign of endeavouring to impreſs the baron with the belief, that the troops now at the Point of Fork were the advance of the Britiſh army, hoping, if he was ſucceſsful in his endeavours for that purpoſe, that the baron, for the ſake of moving off with greater expedition, might be induced to leave behind the greateſt part of the ſtores.

Stratagem practiſed with ſucceſs by colonel Simcoe, on baron Steuben.

In purſuance of this deſign, Simcoe diſplayed his force to as great advantage as poſſible, upon the heights oppoſite to the baron's encampment; and the deception ſucceeded beyond his expectation. In the following night the baron moved off, leaving the bank of the river oppoſite to the Point of Fork, covered with arms and ſtores. In the morning it was apparent that the enemy had fled, and ſome ſmall canoes being procured, captain Stevenſon, with twenty of the light-infantry, and cornet Wolſey, with four huſſars, paſſed the river, the huſſars carrying with them their ſaddles. Wolſey was directed, after mounting his huſſars on ſuch ſtraggling horſes as had been left by the enemy, to take poſt, at ſome diſtance from the bank of the river, upon the road by which the enemy retreated; and ſhould any of their patroles appear, he was directed to raiſe a ſhout, and make an appearance of purſuing, in order to raiſe a belief that the Britiſh army had paſſed the river. This ſtep was taken for the ſecurity of captain Stevenſon and his ſmall detachment of light-infantry, who were in the mean time employed in bringing off or deſtroying the ſtores abandoned by the enemy; and it anſwered every purpoſe that was expected from it. In the courſe of the day a patrole of the enemy appeared, which fled with the utmoſt precipitation, upon ſeeing the Britiſh huſſars; and from the report made by this patrole to the baron Steuben, he was induced, though already thirty miles from the Fluvanna, to continue his march twenty miles farther without halting.

In the mean time the marquis de la Fayette, who upon the advance of the Britiſh army had retreated acroſs Rappahannock River, being joined by general Wayne with his detachment, re-croſſed that river, and followed the Britiſh army in its march to Williamſburgh: On the road he was alſo joined by the baron Steuben, with his eighteen-months men, and militia.

Unfavourable aſpect of American affairs.

Although a dawn of proſperity had begun to appear in South Carolina, under the auſpices of Greene, the general ſtate of American affairs ſeemed at this time to be in a ruinous train, and faſt verging towards that period when the conteſt muſt ceaſe, on the part of the congreſs, for want of reſources to maintain it. The bills of credit, by which they had hitherto ſupported the war, now failed them. The depreciation had become ſo immenſe, that they no longer anſwered the purpoſes for which they were iſſued, and, in the courſe of the preſent year, ſunk under their own bulk, and were annihilated in the hands of thoſe that poſſeſſed them. The failure of this medium of commerce multiplied beyond calculation the difficulties under which the congreſs laboured, and had a fatal influence on their ſervice throughout the whole extent of the union. The agents for public departments could no longer make their purchaſes; and warrants of impreſs became neceſſary to force from individuals whatever was wanted for the public ſervice, and the ſupport of the army. Even the troops were ready to mutiny in ſeveral places for want of pay and clothing. Although general Waſhington's army was greatly diminiſhed, he found it ſtill too large for the means he had of ſubſiſting it. In a letter written by him on the tenth of May, is the following paſſage:—" From the " poſts of Saratoga to that of Dobb's Ferry, incluſive, I believe " there is not at this moment on hand, one day's ſupply of meat " for the army." And in another letter, dated almoſt two months afterwards, he intimated his fears of being obliged to diſband his army for want of ſubſiſtence. The marine force of the congreſs was not in a better condition than their army: Of all the armed veſſels that had been fitted out by them, two frigates alone remained; the reſt had been all either taken or deſtroyed. The immenſe value of the public property and ſtores deſtroyed in Virginia, darkened the gloomy proſpect, and ſeemed to haſten with rapid ſtrides the æra of public bankruptcy. Nor could they derive any comfort from the commerce carried on by individuals, which was now almoſt annihilated, in conſequence of the captures made by the Britiſh cruizers, and the great loſſes ſuſtained at the taking of St. Euſtatius. The people too, in many of the colonies, were become tired of the war, and ſeemed to languiſh under the long continuance of their diſtreſſes and difficulties.

Some ſignal ſucceſs, ſome atchievement of importance, that ſhould reflect luſtre on the American arms, was therefore neceſſary to reſtore the declining ſtate of their affairs, to rouſe afreſh the ſpirit and energy of the people, and even to enable congreſs to maintain their authority. But no enterpriſe that promiſed ſucceſs could be attempted againſt any of the Britiſh poſts in America, without the co-operation of a French fleet and army. The congreſs had been already diſappointed in their expectations of ſuch a co-operation for three years ſucceſſively; but as they had renewed their applications on that head, towards the end of the preceding year, and had at the ſame time made the court of France acquainted with the deſperate ſtate of their affairs, which the effect of ſuch a co-operation could alone ſave from ruin; they hoped that the intereſt of that court, as much as its friendſhip, would induce a compliance. Waſhington looked forward with eagerneſs to ſuch an event, as the only thing that could enable them to prolong the conteſt: And, as ſoon as he heard of the arrival of M. de Barras, who was ſent out from France to take the command of the fleet at Rhode Iſland, and brought with him diſpatches for the count de Rochambeau, he haſtened to Connecticut, that he might have a conference with the French general. The count's diſpatches ſeem to have given full ſatisfaction to Waſhington, as at this interview it was agreed between him and the French general, to carry into execution the attempt againſt New York, which they had meditated the preceding year; if their force, when aſſembled, ſhould be found equal to the enterpriſe: But, in all events, it was their determination, upon the arrival of the count de Graſſe, to ſtrike a blow at one or other of the Britiſh poſts, where ſucceſs was moſt reaſonably to be expected. This interview took place on the twenty-firſt of May, and immediately after it, letters were written by Waſhington, requeſting, that the battalions compoſing his army might be filled up to their full complement, and at the ſame time he made a requiſition to the New England ſtates, for ſix thouſand two hundred militia, to be ready to march whenever he ſhould call for them. The expreſs carrying the letters written by Waſhington to congreſs, after this interview with the French general, was intercepted in the Jerſeys; and the letters were carried to ſir Henry Clinton. They diſcloſed the nature of the enterpriſe in agitation, and ſeem to have alarmed him for the ſafety of New York. In conſequence of the information gathered from theſe letters, the com-

Apprehenſions of ſir H. Clinton for the ſafety of New York.

mander in chief made a requiſition of part of the troops under lord Cornwallis's command in Virginia, and directed that they ſhould be ſent to New York without delay, unleſs his lordſhip ſhould at the time be engaged in ſome important movement that might render it neceſſary to detain them ſome time longer; or unleſs he ſhould be diſpoſed to execute the plan which the commander in chief ſeems to have had much at heart, of carrying the war to the upper part of the Cheſapeak, and upon the Suſquehanna, where a number of loyaliſts had aſſociated for their mutual defence, and were ſaid to be ready to act whenever the king's troops ſhould appear amongſt them. At the time of receiving the diſpatches containing this requiſition, lord Cornwallis was engaged in no important operation: He had returned from his expedition up James River, and was then with his army at Williamſburgh: Neither did he mean to engage in the expedition to the upper part of the Cheſapeak, of which he diſapproved, without expreſs orders from the commander in chief, which would exempt him from all reſponſibility, at leaſt for the plan of that expedition. Under theſe circumſtances he prepared, without delay, to comply with the commander in chief's requiſition for troops; and as, after their embarkation, he was of opinion that thoſe which remained would not be ſufficient to enable him to remain at Williamſburgh, he took the reſolution of paſſing James River, and retiring to Portſmouth. An expreſs was ſent off to acquaint the commander in chief with this determination, and with the ſteps taking for an immediate compliance with his requiſition. In the diſpatches written on this occaſion, which bear date the thirtieth of June, lord Cornwallis takes occaſion to mention, that upon viewing York (which had been propoſed as a defenſive poſt, proper to be taken for the ſecurity of ſhipping), he was clearly of opinion that it far exceeded his power, conſiſtently with the commander in chief's plans, to make defenſive poſts there and at Glouceſter, both of which would be neceſſary for the protection of ſhipping; and apparently chagrined with the idea of having his force reduced ſo far as to be obliged to act upon the defenſive in a province where, in his own opinion, the moſt vigorous offenſive operations were neceſſary, he intimated a willingneſs, if the commander in chief approved of it, to return to Charleſtown, and take the command in South Carolina, although in that quarter nothing but mortification and diſappointment was to be expected.

The reſolution of paſſing James River being taken, the army marched from Williamſburgh on the fourth of July, and encamped on a piece of ground that covered a ford into the iſland of James Town; and the ſame evening the queen's rangers paſſed the river. On the fifth the wheel-carriages, and on the ſixth the bat-horſes and baggage, were paſſed over; whilſt the army continued in the ſame encampment. In the mean time the marquis de la Fayette, thinking that the main body of the Britiſh army had already croſſed the river, advanced by forced marches to ſtrike a blow at the rear-guard. Information of his approach was communicated to earl Cornwallis about noon of the ſixth of July, and ſome pains were taken, by ſuffering the piquets to be inſulted and driven in, to confirm him in the belief that only the rear-guard of the Britiſh army remained. About four in the afternoon, ſome of the outpoſts were attacked by rifle-men and militia; but Fayette, with the main body, did not appear till towards ſunſet, when he paſſed a moraſs with nine hundred continentals, ſix hundred militia, and ſome artillery, and began to form in front of the Britiſh encampment. The Britiſh troops were immediately ordered under arms, and advanced to the attack in two lines. On the right, the affair was ſoon over; the Britiſh troops in that quarter being oppoſed only by militia, who were quickly put to flight: But, on the left, lieutenant-colonel Dundas's brigade, conſiſting of the forty-third, ſeventy-ſixth, and

July.

eightieth regiments, being oppoſed by the Penſylvania line, aſſiſted by part of Fayette's continentals, with two pieces of cannon, the action, while it laſted, was ſharp and bloody. After a ſevere conteſt the provincials were routed, and their cannon taken. They fled acroſs the moraſs in great confuſion; but by the time of their flight it was dark, and to that circumſtance alone they owed their ſafety: An hour more of day-light would have probably been attended with the ruin of Fayette's whole detachment, as the cavalry were in readineſs to purſue, and the light-infantry and other troops on the right of the Britiſh line in excellent condition to ſupport them, from having ſuſtained no loſs in the action. In this action the king's troops had five officers wounded, and about ſeventy privates killed and wounded. The loſs of the enemy in killed, wounded, and priſoners, amounted to about three hundred. The weight of the action fell upon the ſeventy-ſixth and eightieth regiments, both of them lately raiſed; and their firmneſs and intrepidity did them ſingular honour: The gallantry and good conduct of lieutenant-colonel Dundas, who commanded them, merited and obtained the higheſt commendation. The army having paſſed James River, the troops ordered for embarkation were ſent forward to Portſmouth, whilſt lord Cornwallis followed by eaſy marches with the reſt.

Lord Cornwallis croſſes James River, and retires to Portſmouth.

After the embarkation of the troops, but before the tranſports put to ſea, an order arrived from the commander in chief to countermand their ſailing. He wrote at the ſame time to earl Cornwallis, expreſſing his ſurpriſe that he ſhould have taken the reſolution of quitting the neck of land at Williamſburgh without conſulting him; directing him, if he was ſtill there, to remain until further orders; or, if he had left it, to endeavour to repoſſeſs it, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a defenſive poſt for the protection of ſhips of the line, which he ſuppoſed might be found ſomewhere within that neck, and probably either at Old Point Comfort on Hampton Road, or York

Town on York River: And as the firſt of theſe places was recommended by the admiral, lord Cornwallis was directed to examine it, and, if found eligible, to occupy it either with or without York Town, as ſhould ſeem expedient. For the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing ſuch a poſt as was wanted, his lordſhip was to be at liberty to retain all or any part of the troops ordered for embarkation, that ſhould be found neceſſary: And, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the commander in chief deprecated the idea of quitting the Cheſapeak entirely; on the contrary, he declared, that as ſoon as the ſeaſon for acting in that country returned, he ſhould probably ſend there all the troops he could ſpare from the different poſts under his command: He therefore recommended it to lord Cornwallis, if he had quitted York, to re-occupy it, or at leaſt to hold Old Point Comfort, if it was poſſible to do it, without at the ſame holding York.

Upon the receipt of thoſe diſpatches, lord Cornwallis, who by that time had reached Portſmouth, directed Old Point Comfort to be viewed by the engineers and the officers of the navy. From their report it appeared, that works conſtructed on Old Point Comfort would neither command the entrance into Hampton Road, nor ſecure his majeſty's ſhips when lying at anchor within it: It could therefore be of no uſe as a defenſive ſtation for ſhips: And as Portſmouth was admitted, on all hands, not to be ſuch a poſt as was deſired, from its giving no protection to ſhips of the line, lord Cornwallis was of opinion, that the ſpirit of his inſtructions left him no other option than to fortify York and Glouceſter, the only places that remained capable of affording the requiſite protection to ſhips of that denomination. Meaſures were accordingly taken for ſeizing and fortifying theſe poſts, and for evacuating Portſmouth. Part of the army, in tranſports and boats, proceeded up the Cheſapeak, and took poſſeſſion of them on the firſt of Auguſt; and the evacuation of Portſmouth having been completed on the twentieth, lord Cornwallis's

Auguſt.
Evacuates Portſmouth, and concentrates his force at York and Glouceſter.

wallis's whole force on the twenty-ſecond was concentered at York and Glouceſter.

Junction of the forces of Waſhington and Rochambeau.

In the mean time, general Waſhington had aſſembled his army at Peek's Kill towards the end of the month of June, and marching from thence to White Plains, was there joined on the ſixth of July by the count de Rochambeau with the French troops from Rhode Iſland. In the evening of the twenty-firſt, the whole American and part of the French army marched from their encampment towards King's Bridge, and appearing before it early next morning, were drawn up in order of battle, whilſt the French and American officers reconnoitred the poſition of the Britiſh works. The ſame ſcene was re-acted in the morning of the twenty-third, and in the afternoon the confederated armies returned to their former encampment. Both the French and American commanders had been for ſome time impatiently expecting diſpatches from the count de Graſſe. At length they arrived about the middle of Auguſt, and announced the intention of the count de Graſſe to enter the Cheſapeak with his fleet about the end of the month, and commence his operations there. They alſo gave intimation, that he could not remain long upon the American coaſt.

If any doubt exiſted before, as to the point of attack, it was now removed. Nothing could any-where be done without a covering fleet; and as the count de Graſſe had determined to enter the Cheſapeak, it was agreed between Waſhington and Rochambeau, that Virginia ſhould be the ſcene, and an attack upon lord Cornwallis the object, of their joint operations. Letters to this effect were diſpatched to meet the count de Graſſe on his paſſage, and in the mean time meaſures were taken to continue ſir Henry Clinton in the belief that New York was ſtill the object of their enterpriſe. After ſeveral movements, and various deceptions practiſed to induce this belief, the allied army ſuddenly marched acroſs the Jerſeys to Philadelphia where it arrived on the thirtieth of Auguſt.

1781. Naval operations.

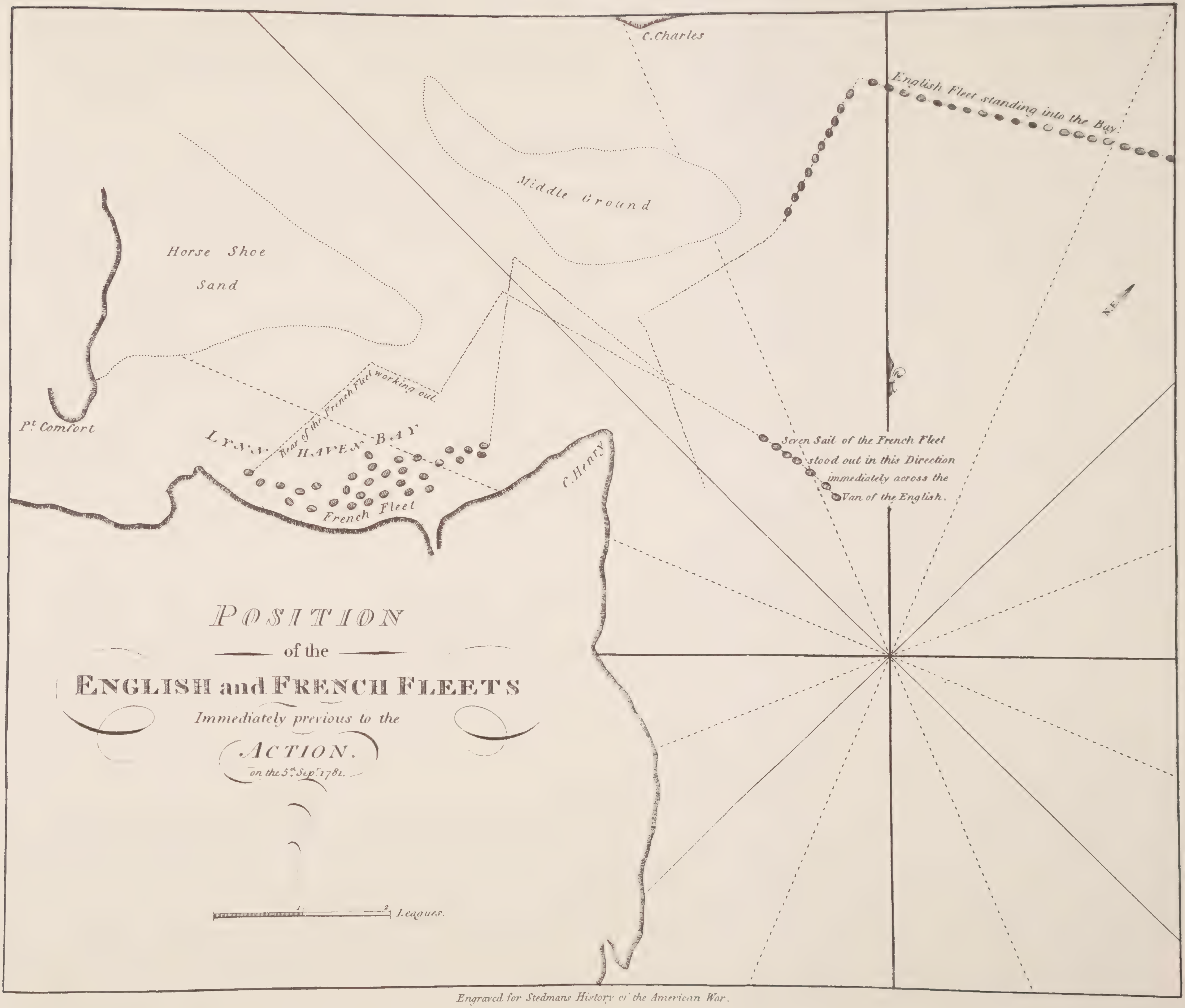
That the count de Graſſe intended to viſit the American coaſt during the hurricane months in the Weſt Indies, was no ſecret to the commander in chief at New York. He had made this diſcovery from Waſhington's intercepted diſpatches, and communicated it to earl Cornwallis; and he had alſo received ſimilar information from the miniſtry in England. Sir George Rodney, who commanded the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, ſeems alſo to have been convinced that ſuch was the count de Graſſe's intention, and that the bay of Cheſapeak was the place where he might be expected. Advices to this effect were diſpatched by him to the commander of the king's fleet on the coaſt of America, who was alſo advertiſed, that at the proper ſeaſon he might expect to be reinforced by a detachment from the Weſt India fleet, ſo as to enable him to meet the count de Graſſe, and fruſtrate his intended operations. Sir George Rodney does not appear ever to have entertained the idea, that count de Graſſe would proced to North America with his whole fleet; and, indeed, the contrary was rather to be preſumed, as it was natural to ſuppoſe that part of it muſt be detached as a convoy for the homeward-bound French trade then collected at Cape François. Upon the approach of the hurricane ſeaſon, ſir Samuel Hood was diſpatched to North America with fourteen ſhips of the line; which, with the fleet then at New York, it was thought would be an overmatch for any force the count de Graſſe could bring, even if he ſhould be joined by the fleet from Rhode Iſland. Sir Samuel Hood made the land to the ſouthward of the Capes of Virginia on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, and having met with none of the Britiſh frigates that were ſtationed to look out for him, proceeded to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth. Admiral Graves commanded on the American ſtation, having ſucceeded admiral Arbuthnot as the next ſenior officer, upon his departure for England in the month of July, and was at this time with his fleet, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line, in the harbour of New York. Only five of theſe were in readineſs for ſea, the two others being under repair. From the intelligence brought by ſir Samuel Hood, it was conjectured that the count de Graſſe had either by this time arrived, or would ſoon make his appearance on the American coaſt. No time could be ſpared to wait for the ſhips under repair; the five that were in readineſs were ordered out of the harbour to join the ſquadron under ſir Samuel Hood; and admiral Graves, as ſenior officer, taking the command of the whole, ſailed from the Hook on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt. Previouſly to his departure, intelligence had been received, that the French ſquadron under M. de Barras at Rhode Iſland had ſailed on the twenty-fifth; ſo that the moſt ſanguine expectations were entertained that one or other of the French ſquadrons could not fail to be intercepted. But the event turned out very different from thoſe expectations: It was not then known that the count de Graſſe had already arrived in the Cheſapeak, and that the fleet under his immediate command, excluſive of the Rhode Iſland ſquadron, conſiſted of twenty-eight ſhips of the line. The count de Graſſe arrived in the Cheſapeak on the thirtieth of Auguſt, and was immediately joined by an officer from the marquis de la Fayette's army, who had been for ſome time waiting at Cape Henry in expectation of his arrival, to communicate to him the ſtate of things in Virginia, and the poſts occupied by lord Cornwallis's army. In conſequence of the information received from this officer, meaſures were immediately taken for blocking up York River, on the banks of which lord Cornwallis had taken poſt, and for conveying up James River the French land force brought from the Weſt Indies, that it might form a junction with the troops under the marquis de la

The French fleet under count de Graſſe arrives in the Cheſapeak.

la Fayette. In theſe ſervices four of the count de Graſſe's line-of-battle ſhips and ſeveral frigates were employed; and with the reſt he remained at anchor in Lynhaven Bay juſt within the capes.

In the mean time admiral Graves having examined the entrance of the Delaware by means of his frigates, and finding no enemy to be there, proceeded on to the Capes of Virginia, in ſight of which he arrived on the morning of the fifth of September. His advanced frigates ſpeedily announced by ſignal the appearance of an enemy's fleet at anchor within the capes; and the wind being very fair, the Britiſh fleet entered to offer it battle. As ſoon as the count de Graſſe perceived that the fleet about to enter the bay was the Britiſh fleet, and not the Rhode Iſland ſquadron which he expected, he gave orders for his ſhips to ſlip their cables, and form the line promiſcuouſly as they could get up, with their heads to the eaſtward; that by getting out of the capes he might have more ſea-room, and be able to avail himſelf of his ſuperiority in numbers. The Britiſh fleet having ſtretched in, and its rear being now nearly even with the enemy's van, the admiral made the ſignal for the whole fleet to wear, by which manœuvre it was put upon the ſame tack with the enemy, and lay to windward in a line nearly parallel to them. Both fleets were now ſteering to the eaſtward and getting clear of the capes, the Britiſh fleet bearing down upon the enemy as it advanced. At four in the afternoon a partial action commenced between the van and part of the centre of the two fleets, which continued until night put an end to it. The French van appeared to be conſiderably worſted, as it was obliged to bear away, in order to give an opportunity to the centre to advance to its ſupport: But no ſhip on either ſide was taken. Admiral Graves preſerved the weather-gage during the night, and intended to have renewed the battle next morning, until he found, from the report of the captains, that ſeveral of his ſhips were

Partial action between the count de Graſſe and admiral Graves.



C. Charles
English Fleet standing into the Bay.
Middle Ground
Horse Shoe Sand
Pt. Comfort
Rear of the French Fleet working out.
LYNN HAVEN BAY
French Fleet
C. Henry
Seven Sail of the French Fleet stood out in this Direction immediately across the Van of the English.
N.E.
1
2
Leagues.

POSITION of the ENGLISH and FRENCH FLEETS Immediately previous to the ACTION.

on the 5th. Sepr. 1781.

Engraved for Stedmans History of the American War.

1781.

were ſo much diſabled, as not to be in a condition to engage until their damages were repaired. Nevertheleſs, the two fleets continued in ſight of each other for five days, and were at ſome times very near. The French, although it was ſeveral times in their option, from having gained the wind, ſhewed no inclination to renew the action; and it was not in the Britiſh admiral's power, from the crippled ſtate of his fleet, to compel them. At length the count de Graſſe, on the tenth, bore away for the Cheſapeak, and the next day anchored within the capes. Upon his arrival he had the ſatisfaction to find that M. de Barras had got into the Cheſapeak in ſafety, whilſt the two fleets were at ſea, bringing with him fourteen tranſports laden with heavy artillery and all ſorts of military ſtores proper for carrying on a ſiege. The loſs of men on board the Britiſh fleet in this action amounted to ninety killed and two hundred and forty-ſix wounded. The whole of the van diviſion under admiral Drake had ſuffered conſiderable damages in their maſts, ſails, and rigging: But the Terrible proved ſo leaky after the action, that on the eleventh it was found neceſſary to abandon her. Her people, proviſions, and ſtores, being taken out, ſhe was ſet on fire, and burnt. The French accounts make their loſs in this action amount to about two hundred and twenty men, including four officers killed and eighteen wounded. Admiral Graves, after reconnoitring the poſition of the French fleet upon their return to the Cheſapeak, and finding that they blocked up the entrance, determined, in purſuance of the advice of a council of war, to return to New York before the equinox, and there uſe every means for putting his ſhips in the beſt poſſible ſtate for ſervice *.

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* The reader is requeſted to run his eye over the Plan of this action, by which it will appear, that the advantages ariſing from the ſituation of the French were not improved as they might have been; for when the Britiſh fleet arrived, under a very favourable and leading wind, the French fleet was lying promiſcuouſly at anchor; they were obliged to ſlip their cables, and ſeven of

1781.

In the mean time the commander in chief at New York, with a view of making a diverſion in Connecticut, and drawing general Waſhington's attention that way, detached brigadier-general Arnold with a conſiderable force to make an attempt upon New London. The troops embarked on this expedition conſiſted of the thirty-eighth, fortieth, and fifty-fourth regiments, the third battalion of New Jerſey volunteers, the loyal Americans, the American legion, ſome refugees, a detachment of yagers, and another of the royal artillery. They paſſed through the Sound in tranſports, and landed in the morning of the ſixth of September, about three miles from New London, in two diviſions, one on each ſide of the harbour. That on the Groton ſide, conſiſting of the fortieth and fifty-fourth regiments, the third battalion of New Jerſey volunteers, with a detachment of yagers and artillery, was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and that on the New London ſide, conſiſting of the reſt of the troops, by brigadier-general Arnold. On the New London ſide no great oppoſition was made: A redoubt, from which the enemy had begun a cannonade, was abandoned by them upon the approach of general Arnold with part of his diviſion; and ſoon afterwards Fort Trumbull, that commanded the harbour, was entered by captain Millet at the head of four companies of the thirty-eighth regiment, through a ſhower of grape-ſhot which the enemy diſcharged from their cannon, but without doing much miſchief, only four or five being killed or wounded in the aſſault. General Arnold loſt no time in taking poſſeſſion of New London: He was oppoſed by a ſmall body of the enemy with a field-piece; but they

New London taken by general Arnold.

of them ſtretched acroſs, and ſtood out to ſea from the reſt of their fleet: The remainder was obliged to make ſeveral tacks in working out of the bay. It was very generally ſaid, that had the Britiſh fleet continued its courſe, the wind ſtill being as favourable as it could blow, the ſeven French ſhips ſo advanced muſt have been cut off from the reſt of their fleet. But for ſome reaſon, which has never been explained, the Britiſh admiral hauled his wind. The advance of the Britiſh becoming their rear, the fleet ſtood out to ſea, and were followed by the French. In a ſhort time the action commenced.

were ſoon ſo hard preſſed as to be obliged to fly, and leave their piece of artillery behind. On the Groton ſide of the harbour was Fort Griſwold, a regular work of conſiderable ſtrength. It was aſſaulted on three ſides by the fortieth and fifty-fourth regiments, under lieutenant-colonel Eyre, and defended by the enemy with the moſt obſtinate bravery.

At length the gallant efforts of the aſſailants were ſucceſsful; and with fixed bayonets they entered the works through the embraſures, in the face of the enemy, who were armed with long ſpears to oppoſe them. A conſiderable carnage now enſued, until the enemy were driven from the ramparts, and had ceaſed from all farther reſiſtance. The honour obtained by the Britiſh troops in this aſſault was great, but too dearly purchaſed. Two officers, and forty-ſix ſoldiers, were killed, and eight officers, with one hundred and thirty-five ſoldiers, wounded. General Arnold, upon his landing, had been informed that the works at Fort Griſwold were incomplete, and its garriſon inconſiderable: But when he arrived at New London, and, from an eminence, had viewed its great ſtrength, he diſpatched an officer to countermand his orders for an aſſault, who unfortunately reached colonel Eyre a few minutes too late. The fort had refuſed to ſurrender, and the attack was begun. Of the garriſon eighty-five were killed, including colonel Ladyard, their commander; ſixty were wounded, moſt of them mortally, and ſeventy made priſoners. Ten or twelve of the enemy's ſhips were burnt, and among them three or four armed veſſels, and one laden with naval ſtores. The reſt ran up Norwich River in the morning, and made their eſcape. A great number of ſtore-houſes were burnt, that contained an immenſe quantity of European and Weſt India goods. Unluckily they alſo contained ſome gunpowder, unknown to general Arnold, by the exploſion of which the flames were communicated to the dwelling-houſes in the town; and a great part of it was conſumed, notwith-

ſtanding

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ſtanding every endeavour to ſtop the progreſs of the conflagration. Upwards of fifty pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of military ſtores found in the different works, were alſo deſtroyed *.

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* Return of Ordnance, &c. taken in Fort Griſwold and its Dependencies.

In Fort Griſwold: Iron ordnance, mounted on carriages, 1 eighteen-pounder, 14 twelve-pounders, 2 nine-pounders, 1 ſix-pounder, 1 four-pounder, 1 three-pounder. Travelling; 1 twelve-pounder, 2 four-pounders. In the Fleche; travelling, 3 four-pounders. On the lower battery, 7 eighteen-pounders, 2 twelve-pounders. Total of iron ordnance, 35.—Muſquets, French, 106.—Pikes, 80.—Round ſhot, 1680 eighteen-pounders, 2100 twelve-pounders, 290 nine-pounders, 100 ſix-pounders, 200 four-pounders, 40 three-pounders. Grape ſhot, 230 eighteen-pounders, 340 twelve-pounders, 75 nine-pounders, 70 ſix-pounders, 90 four-pounders, 75 three-pounders.—Cartridges, filled, 12 eighteen-pounders, 23 twelve-pounders, 8 nine-pounders, 4 ſix-pounders, 14 four-pounders, 6 three-pounders. Muſquet cartridges 10,000; powder, corned, 150 cwt. ſpare carriages, 1 garriſon thirty-two pounder, 1 travelling twelve-pounder, two ammunition waggons, ſtores for the laboratory, &c.

Return of Ordnance found and ſpiked on the New London ſide.

Nine iron eighteen-pounders, mounted at Fort Trumbull, 6 ſix-pounders at ditto, 6 twelve, or nine-pounders, mounted at Fort Folly; 2 ditto diſmounted; 1 twelve-pounder on the road to New London. Total 24.

In Fort Trumbull, 14 eighteen, and three ſix-pounders.

A quantity of ammunition and ſtores of different kinds was deſtroyed in the magazine at Fort Trumbull, and at the meeting-houſe in New London.

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The Confederate Armies arrive at Williamſburgh in Virginia—Lord Cornwallis vindicated from the Charges of Colonel Tarleton—The Combined Armies encamp before York Town—York Town regularly inveſted—Surrendered to General Waſhington—Efforts of Sir H. Clinton for the Relief of Lord Cornwallis—Recapture of St. Euſtatius—Succeſsful Cruize of Admiral Kempenfelt.

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ALTHOUGH the damage done to the Americans by this attack upon New London was immenſe, it was not of ſufficient importance to ſtop general Waſhington in his progreſs to Virginia. The enterpriſe in which he was now engaged was of the utmoſt moment. If ſucceſsful, it would have a material influence in ſhortening the duration of the war, and was not therefore to be abandoned for any partial conſideration whatſoever. The combined armies, after paſſing through Philadelphia, marched to the head of Elk River, which falls into the Cheſapeak at its interior extremity. Tranſports from the French fleet were ſent thither to receive them, and by the twenty-fifth of September the whole were landed in the neighbourhood of Williamſburgh, and joined the troops under the marquis de la Fayette and monſieur de St. Simon. General Waſhington, and the count de Rochambeau, with their ſuites, left the army upon its arrival at the head of Elk, and proceeded by land to Williamſburgh, where they arrived on the fourteenth. They immediately repaired on board the Ville de Paris, to wait upon the count de Graſſe; and at

The confederate armies arrive at Williamſburgh in Virginia.

at this meeting a council of war was held, in which the plan of their future operations was finally ſettled and agreed upon.

About this time a party of North Carolina loyaliſts, to the number of ſix hundred and forty, under the command of Macneil, a colonel of militia, ſurpriſed Hillſborough, ſurrounded a church where a body of continentals were ſtationed, and took about two hundred priſoners, among whom was Mr. Burke, the governor of North Carolina, his council, two colonels, four or five captains, five ſubalterns, together with ſeveral other men of rank; and releaſed ſixty men that were in gaol on account of their fidelity and attachment to the Britiſh government. On their return they were attacked by a body of about three hundred of the enemy, who lay in ambuſh near the banks of the Rain Creek. An action took place, in which the loyaliſts ſuffered the loſs of their colonel Macneil, and captain Doud, killed, and ſeveral other officers, with twenty privates, wounded; but in which, now under the command of Macdougald, they forced the enemy to leave the field, with the loſs of one colonel and one major killed, and thirty-ſeven rank and file wounded. The loyaliſts then proceeded on their march with governor Burke and the other priſoners, till they arrived, on the ſeventeenth, at a place called Raft Swamp, where they were joined by a ſmall party of friends under colonel Kay. Before their junction with this party they were ſo much reduced as ſcarcely to be ſufficient for guarding the priſoners. They had offered to liberate Burke on his parole; but he would not accept this favour, hoping to be retaken by general Butler, who was marching with his army with all poſſible ſpeed, down Cape Fear River in purſuit of the loyaliſts. Soon afterwards Macdougald with his party arrived at Wilmington, and delivered his priſoners to major Craig, the governor.

Whilſt that powerful combination between the French and Americans was forming, earl Cornwallis took every opportunity of communicating to the commander in chief at New York the danger of his ſituation, in conſequence of the French fleet having taken poſſeſſion of the bay: And from him he received aſſurances bearing date the ſixth of September, that he would join him with four thouſand troops, who were then embarked, as ſoon as the admiral ſhould be of opinion that he might venture. He was alſo informed that admiral Digby was upon the coaſt, and daily expected to arrive, with a reinforcement of ſhips and troops. In the mean time the troops under his lordſhip were buſily employed in fortifying York, the works at which having been begun later than thoſe on the oppoſite ſide, and being alſo more extenſive, were not in the ſame ſtate of forwardneſs. It has been ſuggeſted * that about this period, that is, between the time of the junction of the French reinforcement from the Weſt Indies with the marquis de la Fayette, and the arrival of the confederate army from the head of Elk, lord Cornwallis ought to have attacked the former of theſe corps after their junction, and while they lay at Williamſburgh, and that he had a ſufficient force to have attempted it with every proſpect of ſucceſs. But lord Cornwallis's character for enterpriſe, of which his conduct during all his campaigns in America affords the ſtrongeſt evidence, forbids even a ſuſpicion that any opportunity of ſtriking a blow at the enemy was loſt, which could have been embraced, conſiſtently with the orders under which he acted, the inſtructions he had received, and the intelligence which had been from time to time forwarded to him. It has alſo been ſaid † that if this meaſure was not thought eligible, in that caſe he ought to have abandonnd York Town, and returned with his army to South Carolina. But it ought

Lord Cornwallis vindicated from the charges of colonel Tarleton.

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* Tarleton, p. 367, &c. † Tarleton, p. 369.

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to be recollected, that, ſome little time before this, he had been made acquainted with the commander in chief's deſign of commencing ſolid operations in the Cheſapeak, as ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit: And if he had at this time withdrawn his army from Virginia, that plan of operation, which he alſo knew was agreeable to the wiſhes of the Britiſh miniſtry, muſt have been entirely fruſtrated. With this information before him, and with even a conditional aſſurance of relief, he would ſcarcely have been juſtifiable in taking a ſtep that would have been attended with ſuch a conſequence, except under circumſtances of a more preſſing neceſſity than yet exiſted. Beſides this, by his march to Carolina he muſt have abandoned and given up to the enemy, a conſiderable quantity of artillery, the ſhips of war, tranſports, proviſions, ſtores, and hoſpitals with the ſick and wounded. It ſeems, therefore, under all the circumſtances, that ſuch a ſtep at that time could not have been juſtified: And had he attacked the marquis de la Fayette, previouſly to the arrival of Waſhington and Rochambeau, he muſt have greatly impeded the progreſs of the works at York, by drawing off the troops employed upon them, from whoſe unremitting labour during the month of September, they were in greater forwardneſs by the time the combined army aſſembled at Williamſburgh than could have been expected, although they were not even then nearly finiſhed. The works conſtructing for the defence of York were of two kinds, the one for the immediate defence of the town, and the other a range of redoubts and field-works at ſome diſtance from it, calculated to impede the enemy's approach.

The combined armies encamp before York Town.

In this untoward poſition the Britiſh troops were ſtationed, when the combined army of French and Americans appeared in ſight of York, on the twenty-eighth of September, having marched from Williamſburgh that morning. They encamped that night about two miles from the works, and the next morning were ſeen extending themſelves towards the left of the Britiſh army, but at a cautious diſtance. The latter wiſhed to be attacked, but the enemy appeared diſpoſed to proceed with great circumſpection. Nothing material happened on this day, either within or without the lines, until the evening, when an expreſs arrived with diſpatches from the commander in chief at New York, bearing date the twenty-fourth of September. In theſe earl Cornwallis was informed, that at a council held that day, between the general and flag officers, it was agreed that upwards of five thouſand troops ſhould be embarked on board the king's ſhips; that every exertion would be made, both by the army and navy, to relieve him; and that the fleet, conſiſting of twenty-three ſail of the line, might be expected to ſail by the fifth of October: And in a poſtſcript his lordſhip was advertiſed, that admiral Digby, with three more ſhips of the line, had juſt arrived at Sandy Hook. Upon the receipt of theſe diſpatches, lord Cornwallis in the night withdrew his army within the works of the town, in full expectation of being able to hold both the poſts of York and Glouceſter until the promiſed relief arrived, provided it came within any reaſonable time. The works abandoned by the Britiſh troops were occupied the next day by detachments from the combined army: The ſame day the town was regularly inveſted; and in the night the enemy began to break ground, the French making their approaches on the right of it, and the Americans on the left, the extremities of the two armies meeting at a moraſs in front of the centre of the Britiſh works. The ſame day the duke de Lauzun, with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Weedon, took a poſition in front of the other Britiſh poſt at Glouceſter Town, and kept it from that time blockaded. In the night of the ſixth of October the enemy made their firſt parallel at the diſtance of ſix hundred yards from the Britiſh works, and by the afternoon of the ninth, their batteries were completed, which immediately opened

York Town regularly inveſted.

opened upon the town. From this time an inceſſant cannonade was kept up: And the continued diſcharge of ſhot and ſhells from a number of heavy cannon and mortars, in a few days damaged the unfiniſhed works on the left of the town, ſilenced the guns that were mounted on them, and occaſioned the loſs of a great number of men. In the night of the eleventh the enemy, with indefatigable perſeverance, opened their ſecond parallel three hundred yards nearer to the works than the firſt. In the mean time the garriſon did every thing in their power to interrupt them in their work, by opening new embraſures for guns, and keeping up a conſtant fire with all the howitzers and ſmall mortars they could man; and about this time, the loſs of men ſuſtained by the enemy was more conſiderable than at any other period during the ſiege. They were particularly annoyed and impeded in their approaches by two redoubts, advanced about three hundred yards in front of the Britiſh works. Theſe they reſolved to aſſault; and to excite a ſpirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans. The attempt was made in the night of the fourteenth, and in both inſtances ſucceeded; and by the unwearied labour of the enemy both redoubts were included in their ſecond parallel before the morning. The Britiſh troops having been weakened by ſickneſs, as well as by the fire of the beſiegers, lord Cornwallis could not venture to make ſo large ſorties as to hope from them much ſucceſs: But at the preſent criſis ſome attempt of that ſort became neceſſary, in order to retard the opening of the enemy's batteries in their ſecond parallel, againſt the fire of which, it was foreſeen that the Britiſh works on the left, already half-ruined, could not ſtand many hours. A ſortie of three hundred and fifty men, under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, was therefore ordered againſt two of the enemy's batteries, that ſeemed in the greateſt ſtate of forwardneſs. A detachment of the

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guards, with the eightieth company of grenadiers, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lake, of the guards, was ordered to attack the one; and a detachment of light-infantry, under the command of major Armſtrong, was to attack the other. The two detachments accordingly ſallied forth a little before day-break of the ſixteenth of October, forced the redoubts that covered the batteries, ſpiked eleven heavy cannon, and after killing or wounding about one hundred of the French troops, who had the guard of this part of the trenches, returned within the lines with very little loſs. But this action, although honourable to the officers and ſoldiers who performed it, yielded little public advantage. The cannon, having been haſtily ſpiked, were ſoon rendered fit for ſervice; and before the evening, the whole battery and parallels appeared to be nearly complete. At this time not a gun could be ſhewn by the garriſon on that ſide of the works attacked by the enemy, and the ſhells were nearly expended; lord Cornwallis was therefore reduced to the neceſſity of either preparing to ſurrender, or attempting to eſcape with the greateſt part of the army; and he determined to attempt the latter, on the Glouceſter ſide of the river, where brigadier de Choisé now commanded, and lay with a ſmall corps at ſome diſtance, in front of the works. It was determined that he ſhould be attacked before break of day by the whole Britiſh force; and the ſucceſs of the attack was not in the leaſt doubted. The horſes taken from him (for he had a conſiderable corps of cavalry) would in part mount the infantry, and the reſt might be ſupplied by others collected on the road. As no baggage was to be carried, his lordſhip intended to have proceeded to the upper country by rapid marches, leaving his future route uncertain, until he came oppoſite to the fords of the great rivers; when he meant to have turned off ſuddenly to the northward, upon a ſuppoſition that the enemy's meaſures would be principally directed to prevent his eſcape to the ſouth-

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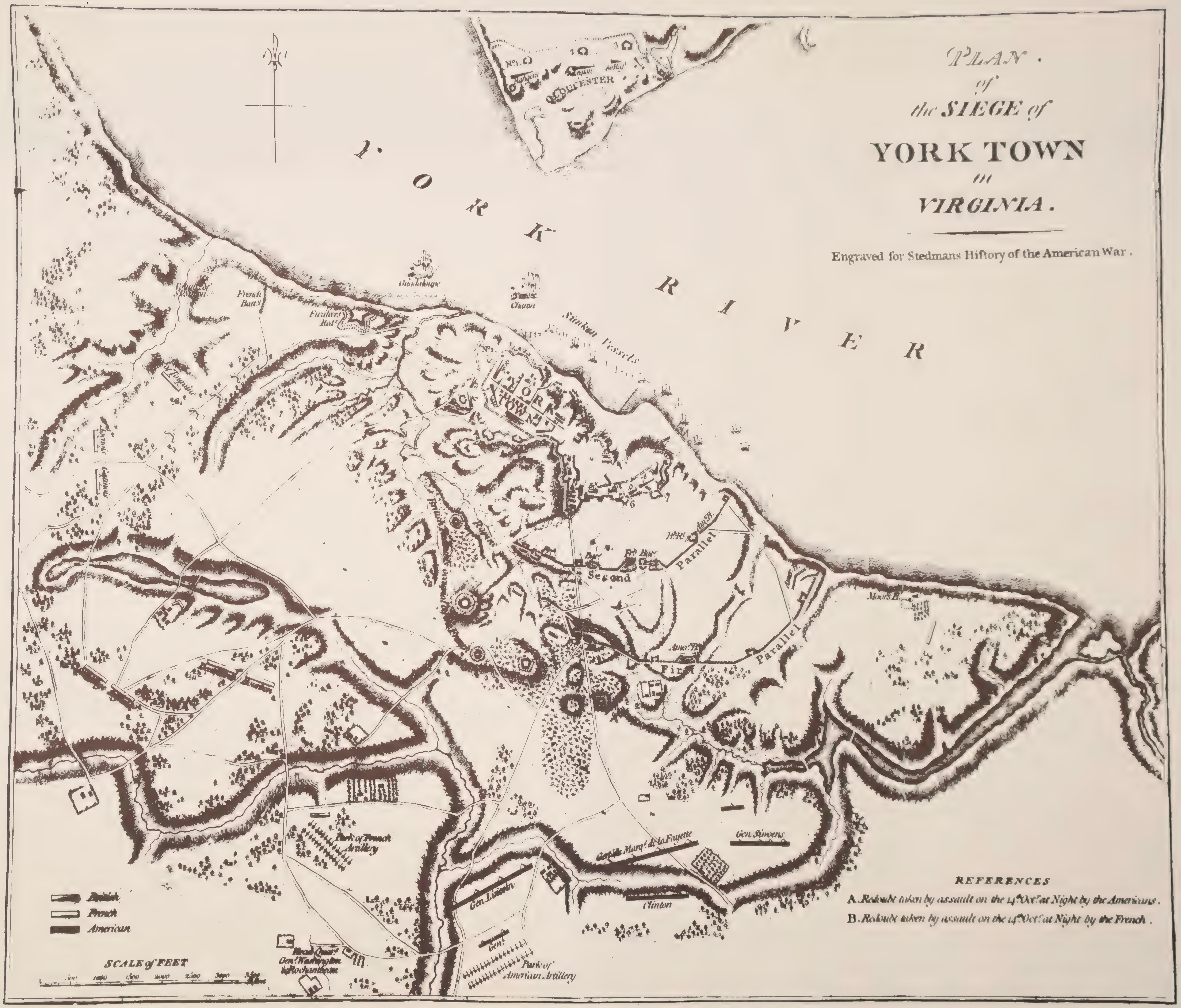
ſouthward. After turning to the northward, it was his lordſhip's deſign to force his way through Maryland, Penſylvania, and the Jerſeys, and join the commander in chief at New York. Undoubtedly the attempt was beyond calculation hazardous, and the iſſue totally precarious; but, if it afforded even a glimpſe of hope, it was preferable to an immediate ſurrender.

In purſuance of this deſign the light-infantry, the greateſt part of the guards, and part of the twenty-third regiment, were embarked in boats, and tranſported to the Glouceſter ſide of the river before midnight, when a violent ſtorm aroſe, which not only prevented the boats from returning, but drove them a conſiderable diſtance down the river. The paſſage of the reſt of the troops was now become impracticable, and, in the abſence of the boats, thoſe that had already croſſed could not poſſibly return. In this divided ſtate of the Britiſh force, the enemy's batteries opened at break of day: Fortunately the boats returned ſoon afterwards, and brought back in the courſe of the forenoon the troops that had been carried over in the night, without much loſs, although the paſſage between York and Glouceſter was greatly expoſed to the enemy's fire. In the mean time, by the force of the enemy's cannonade, the Britiſh works were tumbling into ruin: Not a gun could be fired from them, and only one eight-inch and little more than an hundred cohorn ſhells remained They were in many places aſſailable already; and if the ſame fire continued a few hours longer, it was the opinion of the engineer and principal officers of the army, that it would be madneſs to attempt to maintain them with the preſent garriſon, exhauſted by the fatigue of conſtant watching and unremitting duty, and reduced in its numbers by ſickneſs even more than by the enemy's fire. Under ſuch circumſtances his lordſhip, on the ſeventeenth of October, unwilling to expoſe the remains of his gallant army to the danger of an aſſault, which, from the enemy's



PLAN
of
the SIEGE of
YORK TOWN
in
VIRGINIA.

Engraved for Stedmans History of the American War.

REFERENCES

A. Redoubt taken by assault on the 14th Octr at Night by the Americans.

B. Redoubt taken by assault on the 14th Octr at Night by the French.

YORK RIVER
GLOUCESTER
No. 1
2
3
Rangers
Legion
YORK TOWN
Guadaloupe
Charon
Sunken Vessels
French Batty
Fusiliers Redt
Second
Parallel
First
Parallel
Amern Batty
Moors H.
Gen. Lincoln
Genl. Marqs de la Fayette
Gen. Stevens
Clinton
Park of French Artillery
Park of American Artillery
Head Quarts Genl Washington & Rochambeau
British
French
American
SCALE of FEET
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
3000
3500

numbers and the ruined ſtate of the works, could not fail to be ſucceſsful, made propoſals for a capitulation. The terms were adjuſted in the courſe of the next day, which, though not altogether agreeable to earl Cornwallis's wiſhes or propoſals, were nevertheleſs ſuch as his deſperate ſituation obliged him to accept; and on the nineteenth the poſts of York and Glouceſter were ſurrendered to general Waſhington as commander in chief of the combined army; and the ſhips of war, tranſports, and other veſſels, to the count de Graſſe, as commander of the French fleet. By the articles of capitulation, the garriſon of York and Glouceſter, including the officers of the navy and ſeamen of every denomination, were to ſurrender as priſoners of war to the combined army: The land force to remain priſoners to the United States, and the ſeamen to the moſt chriſtian king. The garriſon was to be allowed the ſame honours which the garriſon of Charleſtown had obtained when it ſurrendered to ſir Henry Clinton. The officers and ſoldiers were permitted to retain their private property; and the officers had liberty to proceed upon parole either to Europe, or any maritime poſt on the continent of America in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops. Although the article for exempting from puniſhment ſuch of the natives or other inhabitants of America as had joined the Britiſh army, and were then at York, was rejected by general Waſhington, the ſame thing was in effect obtained in a different form, by the permiſſion granted to earl Cornwallis to ſend the Bonetta ſloop of war to New York with his diſpatches without being ſearched, and with as many ſoldiers on board as he ſhould think fit, ſo that they were accounted for in any future exchange. By this permiſſion he was tacitly empowered to ſend off ſuch of the inhabitants as were obnoxious to puniſhment; which accordingly was done.

Surrendered to general Waſhington.

By the ſurrender of the poſts of York and Glouceſter the Americans became poſſeſſed of a large train of artillery, many of which were of braſs, together with a conſiderable quantity of arms, ammunition, warlike ſtores, and proviſions; and to the French were delivered up one frigate, two ſhips of war of twenty guns, and a number of tranſports and other veſſels. The Charon, of forty-four guns, and another ſhip of war, were ſet on fire by the enemy's ſhells, and deſtroyed during the ſiege. The combined army conſiſted of ſeven thouſand French and nearly the ſame number of continental ſoldiers, and about five thouſand militia. On the day previous to the ſurrender, the rank and file of the garriſons of York and Glouceſter amounted to five thouſand nine hundred and fifty; but ſo great was the number of the ſick and wounded, that only four thouſand and ſeventeen were reported fit for duty.

Efforts of ſir Henry Clinton for the relief of lord Cornwallis.

In the mean time ſir Henry Clinton had draughted from the garriſon at New York a corps of ſeven thouſand of his beſt troops, with which he propoſed to embark on board the king's ſhips, and impatiently waited for the moment when the fleet would be ready to ſail. He had already informed lord Cornwallis, that it was hoped the fleet would "ſtart from New York about the fifth of October;" and afterwards, from the aſſurances given him by the admiral, that it might paſs the Bar by the twelfth, if the winds permitted, and no unforeſeen accident happened: But the fleet did not finally leave Sandy Hook until the nineteenth, the day on which lord Cornwallis ſurrendered. The commander in chief embarked with the troops, as he had propoſed, and the event of the ſiege not being then known, both the navy and army put to ſea with a determined reſolution to make the moſt vigorous efforts for the relief of earl Cornwallis, and with confident hopes that thoſe efforts would be attended with the moſt complete ſucceſs. It was, therefore, with extreme mortification, when they arrived off the Capes of Virginia on the twenty-fourth, that they received accounts which led them to ſuſpect that earl Cornwallis had already capitulated. They however remained off the mouth of the Cheſapeak until the twenty-ninth. The intelligence received during this interval was ſo uniform in its tendency, that no doubt at laſt remained about the iſſue of the ſiege. It was apparent, that the Britiſh armament had arrived too late to afford earl Cornwallis the promiſed relief; and as that relief was the ſole object of the expedition, the admiral determined to return to New York. The Britiſh fleet at this time conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, two fifty-gun ſhips, and eight frigates: That of the French amounted to thirty-ſix ſail of the line, beſides frigates. Unfortunately, the letter written by earl Cornwallis to the commander in chief, acquainting him with the ſurrender of the poſts of York and Glouceſter, and narrating the cauſes that led to that event, with the motives that influenced his own conduct, produced a difference between them, which terminated in an appeal to the public. Such was the fate of the army; which, if ſucceſs were the uniform reſult of merit, would have undoubtedly ſhared a different fate: If bravery in the field, and patient, and even cheerful, ſubmiſſion to fatigue, inclement ſkies, and the want not only of the comforts, but ſometimes even of the neceſſaries of life *, have any claim to eſteem and admiration. It has been obſerved, and juſtly, that in almoſt all the general actions to the northward, the troops under ſir William Howe were ſuperior in number to thoſe under general Waſhington; but, on the contrary, in every general action to the ſouthward, the enemy greatly outnumbered the Britiſh either under lord Cornwallis or lord Rawdon.

The misfortune that happened in Virginia was ſoon afterwards followed by another in the Weſt Indies, which, although not of equal

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* The writer of this narrative relates theſe things from his own knowledge. The ſouthern army had no proviſion in the field but what paſſed through his hands. Their allowance was frequently ſcanty, and generally bad. The army under lord Cornwallis, in marches and counter-marches, marched above 1500 miles.

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1781.
Recapture of St. Euſtatius.

magnitude, was the cauſe of much diſcontent, as it ſeemed to have ariſen from groſs negligence or ſtill greater miſconduct. This was the recapture of the Dutch iſland of St. Euſtatius by the marquis de Bouillé. The marquis having received minute information, by means of ſome of the traders, of the ſtate of the iſland, together with the careleſſneſs of the governor, he determined to attempt the reduction of it by ſurpriſe. It has been already noticed, that the iſland of St. Euſtatius might be conſidered as a natural fortification, with only one ſafe landing-place, where the town ſtood, and which was protected by a fort. But at the back of the iſland were alſo ſome ſmall bays, where a landing might be effected in very moderate weather, although at all times accompanied with conſiderable riſk and danger. Of one of theſe, which had been left unguarded, the marquis de Bouillé had received intelligence; and there he determined to attempt a deſcent. Having embarked about two thouſand men in a number of ſmall veſſels, he ſailed from Martinique, and took his meaſures ſo as to arrive before the place where he propoſed to land early in the night. So hazardous was the attempt, that in embarking, many of the boats were daſhed to pieces, and a number of ſoldiers loſt; and with all the efforts he could make, not more than four hundred men were landed by an hour before daylight; and as almoſt the whole of the boats were by this time daſhed to pieces, no hopes remained of being able to land the reſt. As the troops which had been landed were not equal in number to the garriſon, the marquis de Bouillé was ſenſible that nothing but a bold attempt to take the fort by ſurpriſe could poſſibly ſucceed. He accordingly put his troops in motion, and marched with the utmoſt expedition towards the fort, diſtant about ſix miles. The way to it was not only difficult, but interſected by a defile where a handful of men might have ſtopped an army. But in his ſituation every riſk was to be run. His retreat being cut off, nothing but ſucceſs could poſſibly ſave him and his troops from deſtruction or captivity. A diſcharge of muſquetry from the French at a diviſion of the Britiſh troops, which was ſeen exerciſing in a field at ſome diſtance from the fort, gave the firſt alarm to the garriſon. Thoſe who were in quarters immediately hurried to the fort, and ſo loaded the draw-bridge, that it could not be raiſed until the enemy arrived, and entered with them. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburn the governor, who had been taking an early ride according to cuſtom, ſeeing ſome ſtrange veſſels off the iſland, took the alarm and returned; but the French in the mean time had reached the town, and made him priſoner before he diſmounted *.

Thus was the iſland of St. Euſtatius reduced by the marquis de Bouillé on the morning of the twenty-ſixth of November, with no other loſs than ten ſoldiers killed and wounded. With the iſland the conquerors became poſſeſſed of a large ſum of money, eſtimated at two millions of livres, being the produce of the late ſales of prizes. Whilſt St. Euſtatius was in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain, ſome pains had been taken to fortify it. Sixty-eight pieces of artillery were mounted for its defence, and the garriſon conſiſted of two regiments, muſtering ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven men. The dependant iſlands of St. Martin's and Saba were attacked immediately afterwards, and ſhared the ſame fate as St. Euſtatius.

Succeſsful cruize of admiral Kempenfeldt.

After all theſe misfortunes, the year 1781 cloſed with a ſucceſsful cruize of admiral Kempenfeldt in the European ſeas. Information had been received in England, that a large convoy of tranſports with troops, and of ſtore-ſhips and proviſion veſſels, was getting ready at Breſt, and to ſail in the month of December, the greateſt part of it being deſtined for the fleet under the count de Graſſe, and the

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* Lieutenant-colonel Cockburn, a native of Aberdeen, was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and found guilty of culpable neglect in not taking the neceſſary precautions for the defence of the iſland, notwithſtanding he had received the fulleſt intelligence of an intended attack.

remainder for M. de Suffrein's ſquadron in the Eaſt Indies; and the whole to be convoyed a certain diſtance by a fleet of ſhips of war under the command of the count de Guichen. To cruize for and endeavour to intercept this fleet and convoy, admiral Kempenfeldt was diſpatched in the beginning of December with twelve ſhips of the line, a fifty-gun ſhip, four frigates, and a fire-ſhip, being all that were then in readineſs for ſea. On the twelfth of that month he fortunately got ſight of them in a hard gale of wind, when the French fleet was much diſperſed, and the convoy conſiderably aſtern. The admiral determined to profit by the enemy's accidental ſituation, and by carrying a preſs of ſail to endeavour to cut off their convoy; in which attempt he in part ſucceeded. A conſiderable number of prizes were taken, fifteen of which arrived ſafe in Britiſh ports, while ſome that had ſtruck afterwards eſcaped in the night. Two or three were ſaid to have been ſunk; and many others loſt their voyages in conſequence of the great diſperſion of the convoy that neceſſarily enſued. In the mean time the count de Guichen was collecting his ſhips, and forming the line. Towards the evening the Britiſh admiral found it neceſſary to do the ſame; and, after taking meaſures for keeping his fleet connected, went upon the ſame tack with the enemy, intending to engage them in the morning. But when day-light appeared, and he ſaw the French fleet to leeward, conſiſting of nineteen ſhips of the line and two others armed en flute, he did not think it prudent to riſk an engagement; and contenting himſelf with endeavouring to ſecure the prizes already made, returned with his fleet to Portſmouth. The Agamemnon, however, and the frigate la Prudente, were detached to follow the French fleet, with a view of capturing any of the convoy that might chance to be ſeparated. It does not appear that they met with any ſucceſs in this deſign; but on the twenty-fifth of December they made prize of five large ſhips bound from Bourdeaux to Martinique,

nique, which were deſtined to join the convoy under the count de Guichen. The prizes carried to England had on board near eleven hundred land forces, and between ſix and ſeven hundred ſeamen. They were almoſt all freighted on the French king's account, and were chiefly laden with braſs and iron ordnance, gunpowder, ſmall-arms, flints, bomb-ſhells, cannon-balls, and a vaſt variety of other ordnance and military ſtores. Some of them were laden with cables, ſail-cloth, and cordage; and others with wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biſcuit, and ſalted proviſions. From the nature of the lading with which theſe ſhips were freighted, the importance of the capture is very apparent; and fortunately for the ſafety of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands, the remainder of the French convoy, that eſcaped being taken, was ſo ſhattered and diſabled by ſtormy weather, that only a few of them, accompanied by two ſhips of war, were able to hold on their courſe and join de Graſſe. The reſt put back to repair their damages.

CHAP. XLVI.

Effects of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis's Army—Meeting of Parliament—Siege of Fort St. Philip's in the Iſland of Minorca—Capitulation of Fort St. Philip's—Reduction of the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's—General Carleton appointed Commander in Chief in America inſtead of Sir Henry Clinton—Naval Engagement between Admiral Rodney and the Count de Graſſe—Proſperity of Britiſh Affairs in the Eaſt Indies—Conduct of the new Adminiſtration—Repulſe and Diſcomfiture of the Spaniards and French before Gibraltar—Relief of Gibraltar.

CHAP. XLVI. 1782. Effects of the capture of lord Cornwallis's army

AFTER ſo many defeats and loſſes to which the arms of congreſs had been ſubjected for ſeveral years paſt, ſo brilliant an event as the capture of a whole army, and at its head a commander who was eſteemed one of the braveſt and moſt enterpriſing of their foes, could not fail to give them the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction, and was accordingly celebrated with ſuitable rejoicings and every other demonſtration that could ſerve to convey to the people a proper idea of its importance. By ſuch means the authority of congreſs, which had begun to be ſhaken, was again eſtabliſhed; the clamours of thoſe who had become tired of the war, and wiſhed for peace upon almoſt any terms, were ſilenced; the deſponding were re-aſſured; the active and zealous invigorated; and all claſſes, for a time, reconciled to bear their preſent diſtreſſes with patience, in the hope that ſo ſignal an advantage would ſpeedily operate their relief. But greatly as the views of congreſs were forwarded by the influence of this event upon the people of the revolted colonies, the benefits thence derived were inconſiderable compared with thoſe that ſprung from the effects produced by it upon the people of Great Britain. The ſums raiſed by parliament for the ſupport of the war, which ſeemed to increaſe every year of its continuance, were already ſo immenſe, that the public burdens impoſed for the payment of the intereſt were nearly inſupportable. The murmurs of the people had been hitherto ſuppreſſed, from the hopes held out of a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful termination of the war; and with the recovery of the revolted colonies, accompanied by the monopoly of their trade, they were taught to expect ſuch an influx of wealth as would ſpeedily compenſate for the preſent extraordinary expenditure. But after the events of the laſt campaign, no one could be found ſo ſanguine as to expect that the revolted colonies could be recovered by force of arms. The experience of nearly ſix years ſerved to ſhow, that although a province might be over-run and ſubdued, it could not be ſecured and preſerved without the concurrence of the inhabitants: And the war waged in the ſouthern colonies for two years paſt, eſtabliſhed the fact beyond contradiction. Although Georgia had been completely reduced, and civil government re-eſtabliſhed: Although all reſiſtance had ceaſed in South Carolina, and a general ſubmiſſion taken place among the inhabitants: Although the Britiſh commanders in thoſe provinces had been uniformly ſucceſsful in all general actions they fought, and had not in a ſingle inſtance been defeated: Yet Charleſtown and Savannah, the two capitals, with a few dependant poſts, were all that at this time remained to Great Britain of thoſe extenſive provinces. Theſe facts naturally led to this inference, that it was madneſs to perſiſt in an expenſive war, in which even ſucceſs failed to produce its natural conſequences. Such were the ſentiments beginning to prevail amongſt the people, when the parliament

CHAP. XLVI. 1782. Meeting of parliament.

met on the twenty-ſeventh of November of the preceding year. In the king's ſpeech the loſſes in America were neither diſſembled nor palliated; but ſtated as a ground for requiring the firm ſupport of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of the people; whilſt his majeſty, at the ſame time, expreſſed his determined reſolution to perſevere in the defence of his dominions until ſuch a pacification could be made as might conſiſt with the honour of his crown and the permanent intereſt and ſecurity of his people. An addreſs of thanks being moved for in the uſual form, was violently combated by the oppoſition, under an idea, that if they agreed to it, they bound themſelves to ſupport his majeſty in proſecuting the American war; and an amendment of a different tendency was offered by Mr. Fox. But the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs carried in its original form, by a conſiderable majority of two hundred and eighteen againſt one hundred and twenty-nine. In the courſe of this debate, although the miniſters did not ſeem to be perfectly agreed amongſt themſelves, it appeared to be their determination no longer to carry on the war internally in the colonies, but to keep poſſeſſion of thoſe poſts which they at preſent held, and direct their principal efforts againſt France, Spain, and Holland.

This diſcloſure of a change in the mode of conducting the war, although it muſt have operated as a relief to the colonies, gave no ſatisfaction to the oppoſition, who maintained that the general voice of the nation demanded a peace with America; whereas the miniſtry ſtill avowed the deſign of carrying on that war, and had only varied the form. The oppoſition now looked forward with eager expectation to the æra of the diſſolution of that miniſtry which had ſo long ſucceſsfully withſtood their rudeſt attacks. The misfortunes of the laſt campaign gave them advantages which all the influence and power of the adminiſtration were unable to ſurmount. By this time the American war was generally diſreliſhed amongſt the people; and by the oppoſition it was reprobated, together with the incapacity and miſconduct of miniſters, as the cauſe of all our misfortunes. The proſecution of it, unfortunate as it had been, was ſtill ſuppoſed to be a favourite meaſure with the court. The oppoſition, on the other hand, loudly maintained, that to put an end to it was the only means of ſaving the nation from bankruptcy and ruin: And upon this ground, the ſtrongeſt they could adopt, as being that on which they expected to be ſupported by the nation, they continued to haraſs and diſtreſs adminiſtration by a ſucceſſion of motions in the houſe of commons, until at laſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of February, they ſucceeded in carrying a vote for addreſſing his majeſty to direct his miniſters no longer to wage an offenſive war againſt the revolted colonies, and to aſſure him that they would moſt cheerfully concur in ſuch meaſures as may be found neceſſary to accelerate the bleſſing of returning peace. This victory gained by the oppoſition with a majority of two hundred and thirty-four againſt two hundred and fifteen, was conſidered as a prelude to the diſſolution of the old adminiſtration, which accordingly, about the end of March, gave place to a new one, formed under the auſpices of the marquis of Rockingham. The cabinet, including the marquis as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was compoſed of the earl of Shelburn and Mr. Fox, appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; lord Camden, preſident of the council; the duke of Grafton, privy ſeal; lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; admiral Keppel, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief of the forces; the duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance; colonel Barré, treaſurer of the navy; and Mr. Burke, paymaſter-general. February. March.

During theſe contentions for power, between the old adminiſtration and thoſe who ſucceeded them, the intelligence that arrived of new misfortunes and loſſes ſuſtained abroad in the beginning of the preſent year, undoubtedly ſerved to haſten the overthrow of the former, and to complete the triumph of the latter. It may be remembered, that in the preceding year a joint expedition having been planned by France and Spain againſt the iſland of Minorca, an armament fitted out at Cadiz was landed upon the iſland on the twentieth of Auguſt, which was ſoon afterwards joined by a conſiderable body of French troops from Toulon. The duke de Crillon commanded the expedition: He carried with him an immenſe artillery of one hundred and nine pieces of the heavieſt cannon, and thirty-ſix mortars, for the ſiege of Fort St. Philip's; and after the junction of the French, his army amounted to ſixteen thouſand men. General Murray, an officer of undoubted bravery and great experience, commanded at Minorca: The garriſon conſiſted of about two thouſand ſeven hundred men, four hundred of whom were invalids ſent from England in the year 1775; but the works of St. Philip's Caſtle were ſo numerous and extenſive, that the garriſon did not amount to half the number which would have been neceſſary completely to man them. Notwithſtanding this weakneſs, the defence of the place was brave and ſpirited, and ſuitable to the high military character of the officer who commanded. For three months after the commencement of the ſiege, the enemy made ſcarcely any impreſſion on the works, and did little injury to the garriſon; but after they had finiſhed their batteries, and mounted all their guns and mortars; the fire from ſo tremendous an artillery began to damage the upper works of the caſtle, and rendered a number of the guns mounted upon them unſerviceable. Still, however, the body of the works remained uninjured, and the garriſon not much diminiſhed. But, about this time, a moſt inveterate ſcurvy began to prevail amongſt the troops, which, baffling all medical ſkill, by the beginning of February had ſpread ſo widely, that of the whole garriſon

Siege of Fort St. Philip's in the iſland of Minorca.

1782.

Capitulation of Fort St. Philip's.

riſon only ſix hundred and ſixty were capable of bearing arms. Under theſe circumſtances general Murray was reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. In the articles of capitulation every thing was granted that he required, except the clauſe for freeing the garriſon from being priſoners, to which the duke de Crillon was prohibited from conſenting by a ſpecial inſtruction of the king of Spain; but in order to ſoften the rigour of this inſtruction, the troops were allowed to be ſent to Great Britain, under the cuſtomary condition of not ſerving until they were regularly exchanged. The terms of capitulation having been ſettled, St. Plilip's Caſtle was ſurrendered on the fifth of February: And thus the iſland of Minorca was reſtored to the crown of Spain, after it had been in the poſſeſſion of Great Britain about ſeventy-four years. The whole loſs of the garriſon, in killed and wounded, during the ſiege, amounted to two hundred and eight: Of theſe fifty-nine were killed, and one hundred and forty-nine wounded.

Reduction of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's.

Nearly about the ſame time the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's in the Weſt Indies was reduced by the marquis de Bouillé. After the return of the count de Graſſe with his fleet from North America, an expedition was planned between him and the marquis de Bouillé againſt the iſland of Barbadoes, in conſequence of which the latter embarked with eight thouſand troops, and the fleet ſailed from Martinique on the twenty-eighth of December. By contrary winds it was driven greatly to leeward, and as Barbadoes was to windward of Martinique, and much time would be loſt in beating up, the French commanders determined to change the object of the expedition, and proceed againſt the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, where the troops were landed on the eleventh of January. Brigadier-general Fraſer, a brave old officer who commanded the few Britiſh troops that were in the iſland, finding himſelf totally unable to oppoſe the landing of the French, took poſt with his little garriſon upon Brimſtone Hill, CHAP. XLVI. 1782.

Hill, where he was joined by governer Shirley with ſome militia of the iſland. The regular force under Fraſer conſiſted of the firſt battalion of the firſt regiment, the two flank companies of the fifteenth, and a detachment of the royal artillery, the whole amounting to ſix hundred men. The militia who joined him with governor Shirley, were about three hundred. Brimſtone Hill, where he took poſt, was a place of great natural ſtrength, from its height and inacceſſibility: Some works had been erected upon the top of it, but in no reſpect ſuitable to the natural ſtrength and importance of the place. The French, having landed, immediately began to inveſt Brimſtone Hill, whilſt the count de Graſſe with his fleet lay at anchor in Baſſe Terre Road, to cover the ſiege. Sir Samuel Hood, who in the abſence of ſir George Rodney commanded the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt Indies, and was then at Barbadoes, having received intelligence of the deſtination of the French armament, ſailed with his fleet for the relief of St. Chriſtopher's, where he arrived in the evening of the twenty-third of January. The next morning at dawn he began to form his line, with a view of bearing down and attacking the French fleet at anchor. His own fleet conſiſted of only twenty-two ſhips of the line: That of the count de Graſſe amounted to thirty-two; but even with this inferiority, relying on the ſuperior ſkill and valour of Britiſh ſeamen, he determined to make a bold attempt for the relief of the iſland. From the circumſtance of two of his ſhips running foul of each other, he was prevented from executing his deſign on that day; and in the mean time he took a French frigate from Martinique, loaded with ordnance ſtores for the ſiege of Brimſtone Hill, the capture of which greatly delayed the enemy in making their approaches. The next morning the Britiſh fleet having formed the line, advanced to the attack. The count de Graſſe, on perceiving their deſign, left his anchorage ground and ſtood out to ſea, with a view of obtaining room to avail himſelf of his ſuperiority in number. Sir Samuel Hood immediately ſaw the advantage to be gained from this movement of the enemy, and ſtill preſerving the appearance of an attack, in order to draw them farther from the land, at laſt puſhed by them with full ſail, and took poſſeſſion of the anchorage which they had quitted. The count de Graſſe attempted to cut off the Britiſh rear; but commodore Affleck, who commanded it, ſupported by his ſeconds, captain Cornwallis and lord Robert Manners, kept up ſo tremendous a fire, that he could make no impreſſion, and, with little loſs to themſelves, greatly covered the other ſhips of the diviſion whilſt getting into their ſtations in the anchorage-ground. Two attacks were made the next day by the count de Graſſe upon the Britiſh fleet at anchor; but in both he was repulſed, and in the laſt with ſo conſiderable loſs, that during the remainder of the ſiege he kept at a diſtance. The loſs of the Britiſh fleet in theſe attacks amounted to ſeventy-two killed, and two hundred and forty-four wounded: That of the French is unknown, but it was ſaid that they ſent a thouſand wounded men to St. Euſtatius. The ſucceſsful manœuvre practiſed by the Britiſh admiral of decoying the count de Graſſe from the road of Baſſe Terre, and occupying it in his ſtead, produced at firſt flattering expectations that the iſland might yet be preſerved. But the great ſuperiority of the French force on ſhore, compared with that of the garriſon, ſoon enabled the marquis de Bouillé to inveſt the fort on Brimſtone Hill ſo cloſely, that all communication between it and the Britiſh fleet was entirely cut off, whilſt, in conſequence of the ſame cauſe, his own communication with the count de Graſſe was open, by means of every other landing-place upon the iſland, except that of Baſſe Terre Road. The French, although expoſed to a vigorous fire from the garriſon, and conſiderably delayed by the capture of one of their ordnance veſſels, and the loſs of another, wrecked upon the rocks, continued to advance their works and proſecute the attack with unremitting induſtry, until they had mounted on their different batteries twenty-four large mortars, and twenty-three pieces of heavy cannon. The effect of the fire from ſo powerful an artillery acting upon a ſpot, the greateſt diameter of which was not more than two hundred yards, may be eaſily conceived: Early in the ſiege, every houſe on the hill was either conſumed or torn to pieces by the enemy's bombardment and cannonade: In the latter part of it, almoſt all the guns were either diſmounted or diſabled; and at laſt an entire and perfect breach was made on the north-weſt ſide of the works, which, from the want of intrenching tools, it was impoſſible to repair. By this time alſo, from the great deſertion of the militia, and the number of the killed and wounded, thoſe who remained in the garriſon, fit for duty, did not exceed five hundred men. After all the efforts of courage and perſeverance, governor Shirley and general Fraſer were reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. Very liberal terms were obtained both for the inhabitants and the garriſon: And on the twelfth of February, the fort at Brimſtone Hill, and the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, with the dependent iſland of Nevis, were ſurrendered to the marquis de Bouillé. The whole loſs of the Britiſh regulars in garriſon at Brimſtone Hill during the ſiege, amounted to one hundred and ſeventy-ſix; thirty-eight being killed, one hundred and twenty-five wounded, and thirteen miſſing. There being no farther occaſion for the Britiſh fleet to remain in Baſſe Terre Road, ſir Samuel Hood put to ſea in the night of the fourteenth, unperceived by the enemy, and directed his courſe to Barbadoes, where he expected to meet ſir George Rodney with a reinforcement of ſhips from England. The ſurrender of Montſerrat, as was expected, ſucceeded the loſs of St. Chriſtopher's and Nevis; a detachment from the French fleet, on its return to Martinique, having appeared before it on the twenty-ſecond of February.

From the avowed principles and ſentiments of thoſe who held the chief offices in the new adminiſtration, no doubt was entertained that peace with the revolted colonies would be one of the firſt objects of their attention, and that the claim of independence ſet up by the latter, would be no bar to a ſettlement. In the preceding year the American congreſs had granted full powers to five of their agents in Europe to treat of a peace; and with thoſe perſons, or ſome of them, means were found to open an intercourſe early in April: But ſo many previous difficulties were to be cleared away, that ſome time muſt be expected to elapſe before they could enter on the final diſcuſſion of the buſineſs.

General Carleton appointed commander in chief in America inſtead of ſir Henry Clinton.

One of the laſt acts of the former adminiſtration was to appoint general Carleton (now lord Dorcheſter) commander in chief in America in the room of ſir Henry Clinton. He was continued in office by the new adminiſtration; and, in conſequence of the inſtructions he received, a ſort of tacit ceſſation of hoſtilities was obſerved between the two armies in the neighbourhood of New York; neither of them attempting to moleſt the other. In other parts of the world, the war was ſtill to be proſecuted with vigour againſt France, Spain, and Holland. The two former of theſe powers had agreed to renew their attempt this year againſt the iſland of Jamaica: And to fruſtrate their deſigns, ſir George Rodney, ſoon after his arrival in England in the fall of the preceding year, was diſpatched to reſume his command in the Weſt Indies with a reinforcement of twelve ſhips of the line. He ſailed from the Channel in January, and arrived at Barbadoes on the nineteenth of February. In conſequence of the intelligence there received of the attack made on St. Chriſtopher's (the news of its ſurrender not having then arrived), he put to ſea immediately, with an intention of joining ſir Samuel Hood, and attempting its relief. On his paſſage he met the Britiſh fleet returning from St. Chriſtopher's; and as the iſland was already ſurrendered, and the count de Graſſe had ſailed for Martinique, he proceeded with the whole fleet to St. Lucie, the moſt convenient ſtation for watching the enemy's motions. For this purpoſe ſome of his frigates were ſtationed ſo as to give him the earlieſt intelligence; whilſt the reſt of the fleet took on board proviſions and water to laſt them for five months. As the ſafety of Jamaica, and indeed of every other Britiſh iſland in the Weſt Indies, depended upon the exertions now to be made to bring the count de Graſſe to action, before he could form a junction with the Spaniſh fleet to leeward, the intervening ſpace of time was probably a period not only of great expectation, but of much anxiety and diſquietude, to the Britiſh admiral.

April.

On the fifth of April intelligence was received, that the French were embarking troops on board their ſhips of war; and on the eighth, at break of day, a ſignal from the Andromache, captain Byron, announced that their fleet was coming out of Fort Royal Bay, and ſtanding to the north-weſt. Sir George Rodney immediately threw out the ſignal for weighing anchor, which was inſtantly obeyed with ſo much alacrity, that the whole Britiſh fleet, conſiſting of thirty-ſix ſhips of the line, was clear of Gros Iſlet Bay before noon, and proceeding with a preſs of ſail in purſuit of the enemy. Before day the next morning the enemy was diſcovered under Dominique; and in this ſituation both fleets were for ſome time becalmed. The enemy got the breeze firſt, and ſtood towards Guadaloupe: The van of the Britiſh fleet, commanded by ſir Samuel Hood, received it next, and ſtood after them with a preſs of ſail; whilſt the centre and rear were ſtill becalmed. Although it was obviouſly the deſign of the count de Graſſe to avoid an engagement, the opportunity which now preſented itſelf of overpowering the Britiſh van, whilſt the centre and rear lay becalmed, was not to be reſiſted: When, therefore, ſir Samuel Hood's diviſion had approached ſo near as to engage, the count de Graſſe bore down upon it with his whole force. At one time, it is ſaid, the Barfleur, Hood's ſhip, had ſeven of the enemy's ſhips firing upon her, and during the greateſt part of the action not leſs than three: And although every ſhip of his diviſion had a ſuperior force to contend with, ſo nobly did they ſupport each other, and with ſuch effect return the enemy's fire, that no advantage could be obtained over them; and, as it afterwards appeared, the enemy in this unequal conflict received more damage than they occaſioned. At length part of the centre got near enough to engage, and take part in the action: But when the breeze reached the rear of the Britiſh fleet, the count de Graſſe withdrew his ſhips from action, and, having the advantage of the wind, kept at ſuch a diſtance as to baffle all the endeavours of the Britiſh commander to renew it. In this action the Royal Oak and Montagu, the two leading ſhips of the van, ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and the ſervice a heavy loſs, in the death of captain Bayne, of the Alfred. Two of the French ſhips were ſo much diſabled as to be obliged to quit the fleet, and take ſhelter in Guadaloupe. The Britiſh fleet lay-to the night after the action to repair their damages, and the next morning made ſail to windward in purſuit of the enemy; but with ſo little effect, that by the morning of the eleventh the French fleet had got ſo far to windward, that ſome of their ſhips were ſcarcely viſible. In the mean time the rear diviſion of the Britiſh fleet, commanded by admiral Drake, had been tranſpoſed to the van, which now became the rear. Fortunately, about noon of the eleventh, one of the enemy's ſhips was ſeen a great way to windward, apparently in a diſabled condition, and repairing her damages: A general chaſe was immediately ordered; and towards evening one of the leading ſhips approached ſo near, that ſhe muſt inevitably have been taken, had not the count de Graſſe, ſeeing her danger, borne down with his whole fleet for her protection. This movement brought the two fleets ſo near, that nothing but the approach of night prevented an immediate engagement; which muſt neceſſarily happen in the morning, if things were preſerved in their preſent relative ſtate during the night. Such meaſures were immediately taken by ſir George Rodney as he thought would be effectual for that purpoſe; and when day-light appeared, he had the ſatisfaction to perceive, that what he had ſo much deſired was on the point of being accompliſhed; and that it was not in the power of the count de Graſſe, if ſo inclined, to avoid a general engagement. The ſignal for cloſe action was thrown out; and, about half after ſeven in the morning, the action was begun by captain Penny in the Marlborough, the leading ſhip of the Britiſh van. The two fleets met on oppoſite tacks, and there being little wind, the Britiſh ſhips ranged ſlowly along, and cloſe under the lee of the enemy's line, delivering and continuing a moſt tremendous fire, which the French received and returned with the utmoſt firmneſs. About noon ſir George Rodney, in the Formidable, having paſſed the Ville de Paris, the count de Graſſe's ſhip, and her ſecond, ſo cloſe as to be almoſt in contact, and having made a viſible impreſſion upon them by a fire ſo quick and well directed, that it was almoſt inſupportable, ſtood athwart the enemy's line between the ſecond and third ſhip aſtern of the Ville de Paris, followed and nobly ſupported by the Duke, Namur, and Canada; the reſt of his diviſion coming up in ſucceſſion. The Formidable immediately wore round; and a ſignal being made for the van diviſion under admiral Drake to tack, the Britiſh fleet thus gained the wind, and ſtood upon the ſame tack with the enemy. By this bold manœuvre the French line was effectually broke and ſeparated, and the whole thrown into confuſion: It decided the fate of the day, although it did not end the action, which continued with unremitting fury till ſun-ſet. The rear of the Britiſh fleet being becalmed, did not for ſome time get into

Naval engagement between admiral Rodney and the count de Graſſe.

into action, and when the breeze ſprung up, it was ſo ſmall, that ſir Samuel Hood, in the Barfleur, took an hour and a half to paſs the enemy's line only ſo far as the opening made by the Formidable, keeping up, during all this time, a moſt tremendous, well-connected fire. The French ſhips being crowded with men, the carnage on board their fleet was prodigious: Still however they fought with ſuch obſtinate bravery, as if the fate of their country depended upon the iſſue of the day. Count de Graſſe, with his own and the other ſhips in the centre, withſtood till evening all the efforts of the various ſhips that attacked him. The gallantry of captain Cornwallis of the Canada, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, was on this occaſion the admiration of the whole fleet: Having fought the Hector, a French ſhip of equal force with his own, until ſhe ſtruck her colours, he left her to be taken poſſeſſion of by a frigate; and, as if emulous to revenge his brother's cauſe, puſhed on to the Ville de Paris, which he engaged for two hours, notwithſtanding the inequality of his force, and left her almoſt a wreck. Still, however, the count de Graſſe refuſed to ſurrender, and ſeemed unwilling to ſtrike to any ſhip without a flag. Towards ſun-ſet ſir Samuel Hood, in the Barfleur, reached the Ville de Paris, and poured in a moſt deſtructive fire. The count de Graſſe bore it for about ten minutes, when he ſtruck his flag, and ſurrendered. At this time, it is ſaid, only three men were left alive and unhurt upon the upper deck, of whom the count de Graſſe was one. Previouſly to the ſurrender of the Ville de Paris, the Hector, as already mentioned, had ſtruck to captain Cornwallis. The Ardent, of ſixty-four guns, taken by d'Orvilliers in the Britiſh Channel, was retaken; the Cæſar and the Glorieux, both of ſeventy-four guns, had alſo ſurrendered, but not till they were reduced to mere wrecks; and the Diadem, another ſeventy-four, had been ſunk by a ſingle broadſide from the Formidable in a generous exertion to ſuccour the Ville de Paris. Night at length putting an end to the engagement, the Britiſh admiral threw out the ſignal for his fleet to bring-to, that he might keep it collected, and ſecure the prizes. But unfortunately the Cæſar, one of them, blew up by accident in the night of the engagement; and a lieutenant and fifty Britiſh ſeamen, with about four hundred priſoners, periſhed by the exploſion. On board the Ville de Paris were found thirty-ſix cheſts of money deſtined for the pay and ſubſiſtence of the troops in the deſigned attack on Jamaica; and it ſeems to have been ſingularly providential, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon and travelling carriages meant for that expedition, were on board the ſhips now taken. The Ville de Paris was the largeſt ſhip in the French king's ſervice: She was a preſent from the city of Paris to Louis the Fifteenth; and no expence was ſpared to render the gift worthy both of the city and the monarch. Her building and fitting for ſea are ſaid to have coſt one hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling.

Sir George Rodney in this engagement happily exemplified the great advantage derived from bringing Britiſh ſhips and ſeamen into cloſe action. The whole loſs of men on board the Britiſh fleet, in the actions of the ninth and twelfth of April, amounted only to two hundred and thirty-ſeven killed, and ſeven hundred and ſixty-ſix wounded: Whereas the loſs of the French, in the ſame actions, was computed at three thouſand ſlain, and more than double that number wounded. That the computation was not exaggerated, appears probable from the known loſs on board particular ſhips: In the Ville de Paris alone were killed upwards of four hundred, and in ſeveral other ſingle ſhips between two and three hundred. And, by the confeſſion of the French themſelves, their ſhips that eſcaped, were ſo ſhattered in the action as to be little leſs than ruined. The Britiſh line conſiſted of thirty-ſix, and the French line only of thirty-two ſhips, after the two diſabled in the action of the ninth had left it: But when it is conſidered, that ſix ſhips of Hood's diviſion, from the ſcantineſs of the wind, never could be brought into action, it will be found that the ſuperiority in number of thoſe actually engaged, was at leaſt on the ſide of the French.

The enemy's ſhips that eſcaped, made off to leeward the night after the action in the beſt manner they could, and before morning were entirely out of ſight. Four of them ran down to the Dutch iſland of Curaçoa; but the greater part, under Bougainville and Vaudreuil, the ſecond and third in command, kept together, and directed their courſe for Cape François. The next morning ſir George Rodney, after receiving a report of the ſtate of his fleet, attempted to purſue, but was becalmed for three days under Guadaloupe, which greatly favoured the eſcape of the enemy. He afterwards, by means of his frigates, examined the French ports to windward, to diſcover whether any ſhips of their fleet had taken ſhelter in them; and being at laſt convinced that they were all gone to leeward, he diſpatched ſir Samuel Hood, whoſe diviſion had ſuffered little in the action, to the weſt end of Hiſpaniola, in hopes of meeting with ſome of their diſabled ſhips, whilſt he himſelf followed with the reſt of the fleet to join him off Cape Tiberoon. In the Mona paſſage, between Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico, ſir Samuel Hood got ſight of five French ſhips, two of them of the line, and three frigates; all of which were taken, except one frigate, that eſcaped by a ſudden ſhift of the wind. Thus the enemy by this action loſt in all, eight ſhips of the line, and two frigates. Sir George Rodney now proceeded to Jamaica with the prizes, and ſuch of the Britiſh ſhips as were moſt diſabled, leaving ſir Samuel Hood, with twenty-five ſail of the line, to keep the ſea, and watch the enemy's motions.

In conſequence of the defeat of the French fleet, the expedition againſt Jamaica was entirely given up; and the action of the twelfth of April may be ſaid to have terminated the war in the Weſt Indies.

The

The reduction of the inconſiderable Britiſh ſettlement on the Bahama Iſlands by an armament fitted out at the Havannah, was the only hoſtile attempt made in that quarter of the world by either of the allied powers after the period of Rodney's victory. The reports carried to the governor of the Havannah of the weak ſtate of the garriſon, provoked the attack; and that thoſe reports were not unfounded, ſeems probable from the facility with which the conqueſt was made. On the ſixth of May, in the evening, the Spaniſh armament, conſiſting of three frigates and ſixty ſail of tranſports, having on board two thouſand five hundred troops, appeared before them: And on the next day, upon the firſt ſummons, the governor, after holding two conſultations, one with his council and the other with the officers of the garriſon, conſiſting of only one hundred and ſeventy invalids, and the principal inhabitants of the place, agreed to ſurrender on terms of capitulation.

May.

Proſperity of Britiſh affairs in the Eaſt Indies.

Whilſt ſir George Rodney triumphed over the enemies of Britain in the Weſt; the credit and reputation of her arms were nobly ſupported in the Eaſt, under the auſpices of the governor-general of Bengal, Mr. Haſtings, and the more immediate direction of ſir Edward Hughes by ſea, and ſir Eyre Coote by land. The latter, under many diſadvantages, amongſt which a ſcarcity of proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of the army was not the leaſt, baffled all the attempts of Hyder Ally to regain that footing in the Carnatic, which he had loſt the preceding year: And the former, although he had to contend againſt M. de Suffrein, one of the ableſt officers in the naval ſervice of France, who commanded a very ſuperior force, defeated him in four hard-fought actions within the ſhort ſpace of ſeven months. But that which ſerved moſt to advance and ſecure the Britiſh intereſt in India, was the means that were found to make a peace with the Mahratta States, and detach them from the intereſt of Hyder Ally. This event took place in the month of May; and by one of the articles of the pacification, the contracting parties became bound to compel Hyder Ally to reſtore all the places taken from the India Company ſince the commencement of the war. Thus the Mahrattas were not only detached from the intereſt of Hyder Ally, but proviſionally became bound to act againſt him.

Conduct of the new adminiſtration.

In Europe the principal aim of the new adminiſtration ſeem sto have been to obſtruct, as far as was in their power, the ſailing of the enemy's convoys; to protect the outward and homeward bound Britiſh trade; to prevent the Dutch fleet from forming a junction with that of France and Spain; to relieve the garriſon of Gibraltar, by furniſhing it with the cuſtomary annual ſupplies; and, in general, rather to preſerve things in their preſent ſtate during the conferences for a peace, than incur the riſk of loſs from the deſire of obtaining any poſſible advantage. In the month of April admiral Barrington ſailed on a cruize with twelve ſhips of the line to intercept a convoy ſaid to be then ready to leave Breſt, and on the twentieth fortunately got ſight of it. The convoy conſiſted of eighteen tranſports, having troops on board, and laden with proviſions and ſtores for the uſe of the French fleet in the Eaſt Indies: It ſailed from Breſt under the protection of the Pegaſe and Protecteur, of ſeventy-four guns each, l'Actionaire, of ſixty-four guns, but armed en flute, and a frigate. A general chaſe was immediately ordered by the Britiſh admiral: And, in the courſe of it, the Pegaſe was taken by captain Jarvis in the Foudroyant, l'Actionaire by captain Maitland in the Queen, and eleven or twelve of the tranſports by the other ſhips of the ſquadron. After this ſucceſsful cruize admiral Barrington returned to Portſmouth about the end of the month. Intelligence being received about this time, that the Dutch fleet was ready to ſail from the Texel, lord Howe, with a ſuitable ſquadron, was diſpatched to the coaſt of Holland to watch its motions. The Dutch fleet, inſtead of being only in a ſtate of preparation for coming out, had already ſailed; but, upon receiving intelligence of lord Howe's deſtination, returned again into port, where it quietly remained during the time of his lordſhip's cruize, which laſted about a month before he carried his ſquadron back to Spithead. About the beginning of June the combined fleets of France and Spain, under the command of the count de Guichen and don Louis Cordova, ſailed from Cadiz; and in its progreſs to the northward took eighteen ſhips of a fleet of Britiſh merchantmen, bound for Newfoundland and Quebec, chiefly laden with proviſions. The reſt of the merchantmen, amounting to about ten ſail, with the ſhips of war appointed for their convoy, made their eſcape. As the combined fleet proceeded to cruize about the mouth of the Channel, great apprehenſions began to be entertained for the ſafety of a homeward-bound Jamaica fleet that had ſailed under the convoy of only three ſhips of the line. The utmoſt exertions were therefore made to forward the equipment of the Channel fleet, that it might proceed to ſea for its protection: But with all that could be done, not more than twenty-two ſail of the line were in readineſs in the beginning of July. With theſe lord Howe received orders to put to ſea; and he accordingly ſailed from St. Helen's on the ſecond of the month. It does not appear that his lordſhip, during his cruize, either ſaw the combined fleet, or that for whoſe protection he ſailed: But fortunately the latter got ſafe into the Channel on the thirtieth of July; and about ten days after, the Britiſh fleet returned into port.

Repulſe and diſcomfiture of the Spaniards and French before Gibraltar.

In the mean time the mighty preparations made by the king of Spain, for the reduction of Gibraltar, and the vaſt expectations formed from them, drew the attention of all Europe towards that fortreſs. The ſucceſſive diſappointments which the Spaniards had already met with, it would ſeem, ought to have taught them wiſdom, and induced them to abandon the attempt as hopeleſs; eſpecially as their arms might have been employed in other quarters more beneficially to themſelves, and conſequently more injuriouſly to Great Britain: But their obſtinacy and perſeverance ſeemed to increaſe with their diſappointments, and the difficulties which they had to ſurmount. Towards the cloſe of the former year, their advanced works upon the Iſthmus, after being completed at a vaſt expence, were demoliſhed in one night by a ſucceſsful ſortie from the garriſon. The guns and mortars mounted upon the batteries were ſpiked, and the batteries themſelves ſo effectually ſet on fire, that before morning they were nearly conſumed. After this misfortune, the enemy ſeem to have principally relied on an attack by water with floating batteries. The plan of theſe batteries was the contrivance of the chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of ſome diſtinction. They were to be of ſuch thickneſs and ſtrength as to be impenetrable by ſhot from the heavieſt cannon, and to be conſtructed of materials calculated to reſiſt the action of fire. From ſhells they were to be protected by a ſloping roof, which by means of a mechanical contrivance might be raiſed or lowered at pleaſure. Thus ſecured, ſuch a ſhort diſtance might be choſen, that the heavy artillery with which they were to be mounted, could not fail in a little time to ruin the works of the garriſon, and render an aſſault practicable. The engineer had the addreſs to repreſent his ſcheme in ſo favourable a point of view, that the moſt flattering hopes of its ſucceſs were entertained, and no expence was ſpared to complete the machines according to his plan. Whilſt they were in a ſtate of preparation, the duke de Crillon, after his ſucceſs at Minorca, was appointed to command the Spaniſh army before Gibraltar: That army was reinforced by twelve thouſand auxiliary French troops; and to add ſplendour to the ſcene, two of the French princes of the blood, the count d'Artois, and the duke de Bourbon, with a number of the firſt nobility, both of France and Spain, repaired to the Spaniſh camp. The battering machines required ſo much time in preparation that they were not in readineſs before the beginning of September, about which time the combined fleet of France and Spain arrived in the bay. When joined by the ſhips already at Algeſiras, it conſiſted of forty-eight or forty-nine ſhips of the line. The battering machines were ten in number, and were commanded by admiral Don B. Moreno: They were mounted with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy braſs cannon, and had on board upwards of ſix thouſand men, a great proportion of which were artillery-men, thirty-ſix being allotted for the ſervice of each gun. They had alſo on board a number of ſpare guns to replace any that might be damaged in action. To give the utmoſt effect to the attack, it was propoſed that when the battering ſhips ſhould take their ſtation, the Spaniſh gun and mortar boats, of which they had a great number, ſhould place themſelves ſo as to flank the Britiſh batteries on the water, and if poſſible drive the artillery-men from their guns. The combined fleet was to cover and aſſiſt the battering ſhips: And to diſtract the attention of the garriſon, a furious cannonade was to commence from all the batteries on the Iſthmus. An immenſe number of large boats, that had been collected from all the ports in Spain, were alſo to be in readineſs to carry over the bay and land troops in the fortreſs as ſoon as the battering ſhips ſhould produce their expected effect. The plan being arranged, and every thing in readineſs, the battering ſhips got under way about ſeven in the morning of the thirteenth of September, and between nine and ten anchored in a regular line, between the Old and New Mole, at moderate diſtances from each other, and about half a mile from the Britiſh works. Immediately a furious cannonade began, not only from them but from all the enemy's numerous artillery upon the Iſthmus, which was returned by the garriſon with ſhowers of ſhells and red-hot balls towards every quarter from whence the attacks were made. The hills all around were covered with ſpectators to behold a ſcene beyond deſcription grand, awful, and terrific. So fiercely did the garriſon return the enemy's cannonade, that continued torrents of fire and ſmoke ſeemed to iſſue from every quarter of the rock: But the attention of the beſieged was principally fixed on the battering ſhips, which for ſome time appeared to anſwer every expectation that had been formed from them. Neither ſhot or ſhells ſeemed to affect them. At length, about two o'clock, ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the upper part of Don Moreno's ſhip: And the people on board were diſcovered uſing fire-engines, and pouring water into the ſhot-holes. Not long afterwards the prince of Naſſau's ſhip, the next in ſize to the admiral's, was obſerved to be in the ſame condition. This ſight, without doubt, animated the garriſon to freſh exertion, and had an oppoſite effect upon the enemy. The other battering ſhips were evidently affected with the ſituation of their admiral and his ſecond, ſo that the fire of the garriſon had gained a viſible ſuperiority before the evening, and it was continued with unremitting fury during the night. About one in the morning the flames burſt forth on board the two ſhips already mentioned, and ſeveral of the others were viſibly on fire. Signals of diſtreſs were now made; and boats were ſent off from the ſhore to their aſſiſtance. Captain Curtis, who commanded the Britiſh naval force at Gibraltar, ſeized this opportunity of completing the deſtruction of thoſe machines, which had created ſo much apprehenſion. He ſtationed his gun-boats ſo as to flank the line of the battering ſhips, and by keeping up a conſtant fire, to cut them off from that aſſiſtance which they had begun to receive from the ſhore. In this dreadful ſituation the battering ſhips remained during the reſt of the night, expoſed to a direct fire from the garriſon, and a raking fire from the gun-boats, cut off from aſſiſtance, and the flames increaſing every inſtant. When day-light appeared, it preſented ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs, that every hoſtile idea was for a time extinguiſhed,

tinguiſhed, in compaſſion for the miſerable wretches who yet remained on board the enemy's battering ſhips. The fire from the fortreſs ceaſed: And the braveſt exertions were made by captain Curtis and the Britiſh ſeamen, at the riſque of their own lives, to reſcue the Spaniards from the ſurrounding flames. By their intrepid efforts about four hundred of them were ſaved from inevitable deſtruction. Nine of theſe battering machines blew up ſucceſſively in the courſe of the day; and the tenth was burnt by captain Curtis, after he found that ſhe could not be brought off. In this attack by ſea the enemy were ſuppoſed to have loſt about one thouſand five hundred men, including the priſoners and wounded. Thus diſaſtrouſly ended the laſt attempt of the Spaniards for the reduction of Gibraltar.

About the time of this attack lord Howe ſailed from the Britiſh channel with the grand fleet, conſiſting of thirty-four ſhips of the line, to eſcort a number of tranſports carrying troops, and laden with thoſe ſtores and ſupplies which were to enable general Elliott to continue his brave defence. His lordſhip was much delayed on his paſſage by contrary winds; but he at laſt reached the Straits, and entered them on the eleventh of October. That ſame evening part of the tranſports got ſafe to Gibraltar: The reſt, from the ſtrength of the current, were unexpectedly carried paſt it into the Mediterranean. Lord Howe followed with his fleet, and collected them; and by the eighteenth conducted the whole ſafely into the bay, where they diſembarked the troops, and landed their cargoes. Fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder were alſo ſpared from the fleet, as an additional ſupply to the garriſon. To the honour of his lordſhip it is to be remarked that the whole of this ſervice was ſucceſsfully performed in the face of the combined fleet, which lay in Gibraltar Bay at the time of his arrival. The enemy either depended ſo greatly upon the ſuperiority of their number, or were ſo much

Relief of Gibraltar.

overawed by their opponent's maſterly diſpoſition for defence, that they did not attempt to moleſt him. The relief of Gibraltar being effected, his lordſhip on the nineteenth took advantage of an eaſterly wind to repaſs the Straits, and enter the Atlantic. The combined fleet followed, and on the twentieth, towards ſunſet, bore down ſo far as to commence a diſtant cannonade, which was held in ſo much contempt by the Britiſh commander, that although three of their number were firing upon his own ſhip, he did not deign to return a ſhot. They afterwards made an attempt to cut off ſome ſhips in the rear; but were ſo warmly received as to be obliged to ſheer off with loſs. In the morning, the combined fleet being a great way to windward, and apparently ſteering for Cadiz, lord Howe proceeded on his return to England, diſpatching on his way eight ſhips of the line to the Weſt Indies, and ſix to the coaſt of Ireland.

During theſe tranſactions a partial change had taken place in the Britiſh adminiſtration. Upon the death of the marquis of Rockingham, about the beginning of July, the earl of Shelburne was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury in his ſtead In conſequence of this appointment, or from ſome other cauſe, Mr. Fox, and ſeveral other principal members of adminiſtration, reſigned their offices, and were ſucceeded by others, more in the intereſt of the earl of Shelburne.

Thoſe changes, however, did not affect the negotiations carrying on at Paris for putting an end to the war. Mr. Oſwald, a Britiſh merchant, and the particular friend of preſident Laurens, who had been ſo long confined in the Tower, was appointed to negotiate with the American commiſſioners; and Mr. Thomas Grenville firſt, and afterwards Mr. Fitzherbert, were ſucceſſively deputed to treat with the miniſters of the other allied powers. The later events of the preſent year had all a tendency to bring the powers at war more nearly

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nearly upon a level. At the cloſe of the former year, Great Britain ſeemed nearly overwhelmed by the ſtrength and ſucceſſes of her numerous foes: But the ſignal victory obtained by ſir George Rodney in the Weſt Indies, with the blow given to the naval force of France in that quarter of the world; the defeat of the Spaniards before Gibraltar, and the ſucceſsful relief of its garriſon, in the view of a ſuperior fleet; and the ſplendid effects of the Britiſh policy and arms in Aſia; raiſed the reputation of the nation to its wonted level amongſt the powers of Europe, and gave her additional weight, either for the accompliſhment of peace, or the farther proſecution of the war. But the derangement of the finances, both of France and Spain, was the principal cauſe which diſpoſed thoſe powers to liſten to the terms of accommodation.

The internal diſtreſſes in every quarter of the revolted colonies, the mutinous diſpoſition of their armies, from the want of all neceſſary ſupplies, and the utter inability of the congreſs to furniſh them, were well known to the American commiſſioners, and ſtrongly prompted them not to let paſs the preſent opportunity of reſtoring to their country the bleſſings of peace. The negotiations with thoſe commiſſioners were therefore firſt brought to a concluſion: And, on the thirtieth of November, proviſional articles of peace were ſigned by Mr. Oſwald on the part of Great Britain, and by Mr. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on the part of the revolted colonies, now the United States of America, which were not to take effect until peace ſhould be agreed upon between Great Britain and France. By thoſe articles the thirteen united ſtates of America were acknowledged to be free, ſovereign, and independent: The limits of their country were aſcertained, as far as was practicable, by natural boundaries; and thoſe limits were extended ſo far to the weſtward as to contain within them an immenſe extent of territory, partly unſettled, and partly ſtill inhabited by the Indians, the original proprietors: A right was granted to them to fiſh on the banks and coaſts of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and on the coaſts, bays, and creeks of all the other Britiſh dominions in America, and to cure and dry their fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Iſlands, and Labrador: It was ſtipulated that creditors on either ſide ſhould meet with no lawful impediment in the recovery of their debts: A recommendation was to be made by congreſs to the legiſlatures of the different ſtates, to reſtore the confiſcated eſtates and properties of real Britiſh ſubjects; alſo of thoſe reſident within the Britiſh lines in America, who had not borne arms againſt the United States; and alſo of perſons of any other deſcription, upon their refunding to the preſent poſſeſſors the price *bonâ fide* paid by ſuch poſſeſſors at the time of purchaſing ſuch eſtates: It was ſtipulated, that no future confiſcations ſhould be made, nor any proſecutions commenced, for the part taken by any perſon during the war, nor any future loſs be ſuffered by any one, either in his perſon, liberty, or property, on that account: It was agreed that priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that the Britiſh poſts within the United States ſhould be evacuated with all convenient ſpeed: The navigation of the Miſſiſſippi to remain free and open to the ſubjects of both powers. And ſhould any place be taken on either ſide, before the arrival of theſe articles in America, ſuch place to be reſtored without compenſation.

The preliminary articles of peace with France, upon which thoſe with America were to take effect, were not ſigned till the twentieth of January 1783. Thoſe with Spain were executed at the ſame time. The general ground of thoſe articles was the mutual reſtitution of all places taken on either ſide during the war, with ſome few exceptions. France was to retain Tobago and Senegal; Spain, Minorca and Weſt Florida; and Great Britain to cede Eaſt Florida to

Spain.

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Spain. The Dutch Iſland of St. Euſtatius, and the provinces of Demerara and Iſſequibo, to be reſtored by France to the United Provinces. At the ſame time a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities with the Dutch was agreed upon, until terms of peace with that nation could be finally adjuſted.

Thus ended the moſt extenſive, difficult, and burdenſome war in which Great Britain was ever engaged *.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION is the grandeſt effect of combination that has yet been exhibited to the world: A combination formed by popular repreſentation and the art of printing †. So vaſt a force as was exerted by Great Britain had never been ſent to ſo great a diſtance, nor reſiſted by any power apparently ſo unequal to the conteſt. The military genius of Britain was unimpaired; ſhe

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* The foreign debt of America, incurred by the war, amounted to 7,885,085 dollars; the domeſtic debt to 34,115,290 dollars; ſo that taking the dollar at 4s. 6d. ſterling, the foreign and domeſtic debt amounted to 9,450,084 pounds ſterling, the intereſt of which, at 6 per cent. which is the intereſt generally paid in America, amounts to 567,005 pounds. The war is computed to have coſt Great Britain 115,654,914 pounds, and the additional annual burden, in conſequence of that war, 4.557,575 pounds, from January 1775 to the peace in 1783. America is ſaid to have loſt by the ſword and natural deaths in the army and navy, not leſs than 100,000 men. The number of men killed in the Britiſh ſervice, during the war, amounted, by the returns at New York, to 43,633.

By computation the whole territory of the American States contains a million of ſquare miles, in which are 640 millions of acres; of theſe, 51 millions are water, which being deducted, the total amount of acres of land in the United States of America is 589 millions.

† CAPTAIN NEWTE, in his philoſophical and very intereſting Tour in England and Scotland, having delineated Scotland and the North of England as ſhaped by the hand of nature, is led, from the names of places, to ſpeak of the geographical knowledge, and the natural quickneſs in general, of mankind in a ſavage ſtate. On this ſubject he ſays: "In the country of the "Illionois, a chief of the Caſcaſkias conceived the ſublime idea of uniting all Indian nations "and tribes into one grand alliance, offenſive and defenſive. If this had been realized, Dr. "Franklin's confederation of the thirteen States would have cut but a poor figure on the "American continent, and the natural man would have outdone the philoſopher."

roſe with elaſtic force under every blow; and ſeemed capable, by the immenſity of her revenues, of wearying out, by perſeverance, the adverſity of fortune: But wiſdom, vigour, and unanimity, were wanting in her public councils. The eloquence of ſome legiſlators in oppoſition to government; the narrow views of miniſters at home; and the miſconduct of certain commanders abroad, through a ſeries of puſillanimity, procraſtination, diſcord, and folly; brought this country, in ſpite of the gallant efforts of the Britiſh officers and ſoldiers by land and ſea, the juſtice of their cauſe, the firmneſs of their ſovereign, and the general vows of the people, to a criſis, which has not indeed been followed (ſo limited are our proſpects into futurity) by all that calamity which was generally apprehended, but which, nevertheleſs, although the national character, for ſpirit and enterpriſe, was abundantly ſuſtained by individuals, cannot be regarded otherwiſe than as a diſgrace to the Britiſh: Since it exhibited, in our public conduct, the triumph of party over genuine patriotiſm, and a ſpirit of peculation and pleaſure prevailing in too many inſtances over military diſcipline, and a ſenſe of military honour. The Britiſh miniſter did not poſſeſs that towering genius which is alone fitted, in difficult and turbulent times, to overcome the ſeditious, and rouſe the remiſs to their duty. Though a man of fine talents, as well as an amiable diſpoſition, he was conſtitutionally indolent: And, beſides this, there was not that degree of cordiality and perfect unanimity that the miniſter was led to ſuppoſe amongſt the friends of his majeſty's government in America. It is, perhaps, a matter of doubt whether the loyaliſts were not, on the whole, too ſanguine in their expectations. But it is the nature of men to cheriſh the hope of relief with an ardour proportioned to the greatneſs of their miſfortunes.

On the whole, the Britiſh government did not proceed on any grand ſyſtem that might control particular circumſtances and events;

but ſtudied to prolong their own authority by temporary expedients. They courted their adverſaries at home, by a ſhare of power and profit; and the public enemies of the ſtate, by partial conceſſions. But theſe availed much more to the eſtabliſhment of new claims, than all the declarations of parliamentary rights and royal prerogatives with which they were accompanied, did to maintain the rights of eſtabliſhed government: For facts quickly paſs into precedents; while manifeſto is oppoſed to manifeſto, and argument to argument. Had the meaſures adopted by Britain, been adopted in time*, perhaps they would not have been adopted in vain. Their conceſſions, as well as their armaments, were always too late. Earlier conceſſion, or an earlier application of that mighty force which was at the diſpoſal of the commanders in chief in 1777, might perhaps have prevented or quaſhed the revolution.

While the natural ſtrength and ſpirit of Great Britain were embarraſſed and encumbered with the diſadvantages and errors now enumerated, the Americans, in ſpite of a thouſand difficulties and wants, by the energy of liberty, the contrivance of neceſſity, and the great advantages ariſing from the poſſeſſion of the country, ultimately attained their object. The Americans, indeed, were not fired with that enthuſiaſtic ardour, which nations of a warmer temperament, in all ages, have been wont to diſplay in the cauſe of freedom. But they were guided by wiſe councils; they were ſteady and perſevering; and, on all great occaſions, not a little animated by the courage of general Waſhington, who has been proverbially called a Fabius, but in whoſe character courage, in fact, was a feature ſtill more predominant than prudence. The American generals, having the bulk of the people on their ſide, were made acquainted with every movement of the Britiſh army, and enabled, for the moſt part, to penetrate their deſigns: To obtain intelligence, on which ſo much depends, was to the Britiſh commanders a matter of proportionable difficulty. The Americans had neither money nor credit: But they learned to ſtand in need only of a few things; to be contented with the ſmall allowance that nature requires; to ſuffer, as well as to act. Their councils, animated by liberty, under the moſt diſtreſſing circumſtances, took a grand and high-ſpirited courſe, and they were finally triumphant.

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* Beſides a mighty navy, Great Britain had a force in America, amounting nearly to 42,000 men, beſides from 25,000 to 30,000 loyaliſts, who were actually enliſted in the ſeveral provincial corps raiſed during the war.

The Revolution of America, though predicted by philoſophy, was generally conſidered as a remote contingency, if not a thing wholly ideal and viſionary. Its immediate cauſes were altogether unforeſeen and improbable. It came as a ſurpriſe upon the world: And men were obliged to conclude, either that the force of Great Britain was ill-directed, or that no invading army, in the preſent enlightened period, can be ſucceſsful, in a country where the people are tolerably united.

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